

SACRED IMAGE, CIVIC SPECTACLE, AND RITUAL SPACE: TIVOLI'S *INCHINATA*
PROCESSION AND ICONS IN URBAN LITURGICAL THEATER
IN LATE MEDIEVAL ITALY

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This dissertation examines the socio-politics of urban performance and ceremonial imagery in the nascent independent communes of late medieval Lazio. It explores the complex manner in which these central Italian cities both emulated and rejected the political and cultural hegemony of Rome through the ideological and performative reinvention of its cult icons. In the twelfth century the powerful urban center of Tivoli adopted Rome's grandest annual public event, the nocturnal Assumption procession of August 14-15, and transformed it into a potent civic expression that incorporated all sectors of the social fabric. Tivoli's cult of the *Trittico del Salvatore* and the *Inchinata* procession in which the icon of the enthroned Christ was carried at the feast of the Assumption and made to perform in symbolic liturgical ceremonies were both modeled on Roman, papal exemplars. The Tiburtine procession, however, became a ritual communal act and its Savior icon an apotropaic *palladium* that protected the city from spiritual and material dangers. Rather than a mere imitation of Roman practices, the *Inchinata* was a unique, site-specific rite that preserved communal memory and constructed new religious and social narratives. The sacred geography of the procession drew all of the city's most strategic religious, defensive, and historical monuments into a self-referential spatial and ritual matrix that sacralized the city's defensive structures, invoked its protector saints, and celebrated its sacred

history and local mythology. Through this ritual, Tivoli, a perennial military rival of Rome, “branded” itself as a formidable political and cultural rival as well. I contextualize this tradition by examining a spectrum of analogous cases in Lazio where other late medieval processional “copies” of Rome’s *Acheropita* icon were in reality powerful local symbols of communal identity and indices of an evolving civic self-awareness. My treatment of this phenomenon addresses fundamental underlying questions about the origins of religious drama and the evolution of urban culture in a transformative period for the Italian city, a period characterized by fierce political ambition, rapid secularization, and artistic innovation.

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PREFACE

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In this dissertation all of the translations of primary and secondary texts from foreign languages into English are mine except where otherwise indicated.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In the central Italian city of Tivoli, 17 miles east of Rome, the citizens stage an annual liturgical procession on the night of August 14 to celebrate the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin. The focal point of this procession is a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century triptych, the *Trittico del Salvatore*, whose central panel features a monumental figure of Christ Enthroned making a gesture of blessing [fig 1]. The image is brought out of its home in the cathedral of San



Fig 1. *Trittico del Salvatore*, Tivoli cathedral. Photo, Soprintendenza Per I Beni Storici, Artistici ed Etnoantropologici del Lazio.

Lorenzo and carried through the streets of the city [fig 2], accompanied by Tivoli's confraternities, professional guilds, municipal officials, and townspeople. The procession circles the historic center, making stops along the way during which the Savior image "blesses" the city and its inhabitants and is ritually washed. The procession ends at the Franciscan church of Santa



Fig 2. *Confraternita del Salvatore* carrying *Trittico del Salvatore* in *Inchinata* procession, Tivoli, 2009. Photo, Rebekah Perry.

Maria Maggiore. Here in the piazza, the Savior icon makes a triple bow of greeting with the *Madonna delle Grazie* ("Madonna of the Graces"), the church's panel painting of the Virgin depicted half-length in a pose of intercession [fig 3]. This ritual [fig 4] is called the *Inchinata* ("the bow"), from whence the procession's name derives, and symbolizes the apocryphal reunion of Mary with her son Jesus Christ at the end of her mortal life when she was assumed into

heaven. The following morning, Assumption Day (August 15), mass is said at Sta. Maria Maggiore, the ritual bow between the icons is repeated, and the Savior triptych is brought back to the cathedral.



Fig 3. *Madonna delle Grazie*, Sta. Maria Maggiore, Tivoli. Photo, Soprintendenza Per I Beni Storici, Artistici ed Etnoantropologici del Lazio.



Fig 4. Meeting of *Trittico del Salvatore* and *Madonna delle Grazie* at climax of *Inchinata* procession, Sta. Maria Maggiore, Tivoli, 2011. Photo, Rebekah Perry.

The *Inchinata* procession is an ancient tradition. It is documented in the Tivoli city statutes of the year 1305. Multiple subsequent chronicles and descriptions reveal that it has been practiced continuously in the centuries since, up to the present day. It is therefore a remarkable example of continuity in liturgical practice and civic expression and represents rich possibilities for examining the evolution of urban culture in Lazio in the late Middle Ages and early modern period. Yet, the origins, history, and meaning of this rite have never received a serious critical study. This is surprising since the *Inchinata* is routinely cited in prominent scholarship as an exceptional case of ritual image function and public liturgical performance in this region. Indeed, the *Inchinata* is one of the rare instances in Lazio of a medieval liturgical procession that continues to the present day—with its ritual imagery surviving *in situ* and enjoying a relatively well-documented history.

Tivoli's *Inchinata* is also important as one of the few surviving examples of this processional tradition because it is *distinctive to Lazio*. Before many processions and religious dramas were banned in the Counter-Reformation, numerous cities and towns in Lazio staged civic processions on the eve of the Assumption in which monumental panel paintings of Christ Enthroned, all belonging to the same iconographic and stylistic family, were carried through the streets, ritually cleansed, and made to engage in symbolic “encounters” with the Virgin. This ritual formula has virtually no parallels outside of Lazio.¹

The procession started in Rome around the eighth century, where it centered around the panel painting of Christ Enthroned at the Lateran known as the *Acheropita* (Greek for not made by human hand) [fig 5]. By the early twelfth century replicas of the *Acheropita* began to appear in cities throughout Lazio, including in Tivoli, which has the earliest known example. These

¹ There is one exception in a city in Umbria (Perugia), which I will address in chapter six.



Fig 5. *Acheropita* icon, *Sancta Sanctorum*, Lateran palace, Rome. Photo, Vatican Museums.

replicas were likely made to function as ritual protagonists in the Assumption processions which also emerged in Lazio as miniature “replicas” of the Roman event. A dedicated study of the most famous of these processions—Tivoli’s *Inchinata*—is necessary for two reasons. One is that as a modern survival of a tradition which was banned in Rome in the mid sixteenth century by Pope Pius V (1566-1572), Tivoli’s *Inchinata* can help reconstruct the specifics of the original procession as practiced in the seat of Christendom. These are valuable insights because the Assumption procession was the grandest and most elaborate public spectacle of the medieval liturgical year in Rome, infused with potent political and apotropaic symbolism.

The other reason, which provides the methodological focus for this dissertation, is that Tivoli's *Inchinata* presents an opportunity to study the modes of transmission of medieval liturgical performance and image function between Rome and its neighboring urban communities. The way these communities borrowed and adapted Roman practices to their own local preferences, traditions, and topography is illustrative of the phenomenon of *imitatio romae* at work in this period wherein the cities and towns of the region, some of which had ongoing contentious relationships with Rome, at once emulated and rejected the religious and political hegemony of the *Urbs*. This was a critical factor in the evolution of urban culture and civic identity in central Italy in the late Middle Ages and early modern period.

Tivoli is a particularly instructive case-study of this phenomenon. Because of its felicitous location at the mouth of the Anio river valley and controlling the trade routes through the Apennine mountains, and because of its alliances with the Holy Roman Empire and prominent, well-connected abbeys like Farfa, Tivoli was a strategic urban power in Lazio. Moreover, Tivoli was one of the first cities in Lazio to establish an independent municipal government, even before Rome did. Politically and militarily it was a rival of its close neighbor, which set the stage for an interesting cultural give-and-take between the two cities. My dissertation examines this phenomenon through an art historical-anthropological analysis of the origins and performance of Tivoli's *Inchinata*. I apply an interdisciplinary methodology that considers the event through the lenses of urban studies, liturgical studies, image theory, and social history.

In chapter two I provide a detailed description of the *Inchinata* as performed today, based on my personal observations of the procession in 2009 and 2011 and on the printed liturgical text used for the event. I then discuss the primary textual sources for the historical *Inchinata* dating

from the city statutes of 1305 to the early twentieth century. This methodical treatment of the documentary record is a much-needed contribution to the study of the *Inchinata* since the limited existing scholarship is incomplete and vague about what the sources are, *where* they are, and what they say. With a more thorough documentary picture it is possible to construct a cohesive, genuinely insightful analysis of such an important and widely-known historical event.

The chapter continues with an explanation of the textual sources for the *Inchinata*'s inspiration—the Assumption procession in Rome. It then analyzes the circumstances of and modalities through which the Roman processional tradition was transmitted to Tivoli. I argue that Tivoli most likely replicated both the *Acheropita* icon and the Assumption procession in the twelfth century during a period of intense church reform aimed at solidifying authority in the Papal States and regularizing liturgical practices on a Roman model. The Assumption procession and its intimately-related cult of the *Acheropita* were most likely disseminated throughout Lazio—the papacy's stronghold—through the region's episcopal hierarchies, which in this period were being restructured and strengthened to facilitate papal reach into Rome's neighboring territories. This paradigm for the origins of Lazio's medieval and early modern Assumption processions and their ritual use of replicas of the Lateran *Acheropita* has previously been suggested; however, it has been proposed primarily on a theoretical basis and never applied to a specific urban community or a model of subsequent reception history. This dissertation is the first such study. It considers the specific political circumstances of Tivoli and its fraught relations with Rome in the transmission process of liturgical practices and image cults.

Chapters three and four examine the performed geography of the *Inchinata* procession. They reconstruct the performance and meaning of the *Inchinata* procession within the urban context of Tivoli in the twelfth through fourteenth century. These chapters conceptualize the

procession as a “journey” of the Savior triptych through the physical fabric of the community and consider the significance of the performance within the city’s unique topography, history, and traditions. Chapter three demonstrates that the circular route, liturgy, and ritual ceremonies of the *Inchinata* derive (in part via the Roman model and in part via broader contemporary practices in Europe) from medieval rogation processions. These processions were penitential and supplicatory and often involved the ritual carrying of images or relics sacred to a specific community. Within this tradition Tivoli’s *Trittico del Salvatore* had an apotropaic (protective) function that worked on multiple levels. I argue that when we consider the specific monuments featured on the route of the procession and the locations and character of its ritual stops, it becomes clear that the image-protector both served as a powerful civic symbol and a safeguard against three kinds of dangers to the community: spiritual, martial, and natural.

Chapter four extends the analysis of the procession route and its implications for the ritual function of the Savior triptych into the later Middle Ages. Beginning in the mid thirteenth century, Tivoli’s civic institutions and urban topography experienced significant changes, and this may have precipitated new layers of meaning for the *Inchinata* and the image’s “journey.” This chapter explores a “pilgrimage” model for the *Inchinata*. This model addresses the ubiquitous emergence of charitable societies and hospitals around the city, especially focused at the gates and adjacent roads—essentially redefining the procession route and the architectural “stage-sets” for its ritual ceremonies. I contextualize this phenomenon within several key contemporary factors that seem to have coalesced in a new conception of public liturgical performance. One was the emergence of the mendicant orders and their influence on urban culture. The friars’ example of personal devotion and penance sparked the explosive growth of religious lay societies and hospitals and new models of Christian charity and discipline. These

new models extended to public religious spectacles, including liturgical processions. This is exemplified by the manner in which Franciscan and Dominican institutions and the lay societies that grew up around them in Tivoli came to play featured roles in the *Inchinata* procession. Other factors, not unrelated, are the prescriptive performance of pilgrimage in this period on the part of the papacy (e.g. mass pilgrimage to Rome during Jubilee years in exchange for indulgences) and the “Christ as pilgrim” paradigm as growing currency in contemporary popular culture, including in many surviving examples in literature and the visual arts. This chapter considers how all these cultural phenomena were possible agents in an evolving conception among the Tiburtini (the inhabitants of Tivoli) of the *Trittico del Salvatore* as an allegorical pilgrim and the *Inchinata* procession as a symbolic pilgrimage. During this “pilgrimage” the icon’s ritual blessings and cleansings functioned as a kind of moving morality play in which contemporary models of Christian conduct were “performed” by the image.

Chapter five focuses on the other protagonist of the *Inchinata*—the *Madonna delle Grazie* icon—which the Savior triptych engages in an allegorical “greeting” at the climax of the procession. I explore how this image too functioned as a civic symbol and ritual cult object in late medieval Tivoli. I argue that the image, housed in the Franciscan church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, was most likely made in or brought to Tivoli in the second half of the thirteenth century by the city’s new Franciscan community, which forcefully replaced the church’s Benedictine occupants. The image’s introduction in Tivoli appears to have been a part of a diffusion in Lazio of the Roman cult of the *Madonna Avvocata*. Like the Roman family of twelfth- and thirteenth-century panel paintings of the half-length Virgin in a pose of intercession from which the *Madonna delle Grazie* derived, the Tiburtine image symbolized mendicant presence and spiritual authority. The image functioned as a kind of standard for a community of

Franciscans experiencing sustained opposition by both the commune and the ecclesiastical establishment during its first two decades in Tivoli. I will demonstrate, however, that the intense veneration that the image enjoys today likely emerged before the end of the thirteenth century, since after an initial chilly reception, the Tiburtini enthusiastically embraced the Franciscans, and Sta. Maria Maggiore became an important cult center of the community, magnifying its importance as the site of the dramatic finale of the *Inchinata* procession. I will also discuss in this chapter the relationship between the intercessory iconography of the *Madonna delle Grazie* and contemporary Assumption theology and ritual practices at the feast of the Assumption. Since the medieval textual sources are silent on the subject of Marian imagery in Tivoli's *Inchinata*, this relationship is key evidence that the *Madonna delle Grazie* was in fact probably used in a ritual encounter with the *Trittico del Salvatore* already in the late medieval procession.

Chapter six looks at the family of medieval Laziale replicas of the Lateran *Acheropita* collectively and the regional tradition of Assumption processions in which they were ritually carried. In the existing scholarship, there have been several excellent studies on the formal characteristics of this group of icons and general discussions of the circumstances and events that prompted their inception; but there has been limited interpretive analysis of their role in their respective communities and the details of how they were used in the Assumption processions documented from the early fourteenth century. Instead, the ritual and civic functions of the images are—with some notable exceptions—implicitly dismissed by the manner in which they are usually lumped together as “copies” of the *Acheropita* that “imitated” its role in Rome's Assumption. This approach is problematic because the panels are all unique monuments with individual reception histories. Moreover, the processions, and the manner in which the panels were used in the processions, were not identical. This chapter addresses these distinctions.

I provide both a survey of the physical characteristics of the Lazio Savior panels (the iconographic and compositional types and their variations, and the material evidence that they were regularly carried publicly in procession) and an examination of the medieval and early modern textual evidence for the processions. This textual evidence is provided by contemporary papal indulgences, local chronicles, and municipal and confraternity statutes. In the existing scholarship, the material evidence of the panels' processional function is frequently cited, but the *textual* evidence that confirms this function is treated superficially or not at all. As with the textual evidence for Tivoli's *Inchinata*, this dissertation is the first study that provides a methodical examination of the documentary record for the Laziale Assumption processions as a unique regional practice. This study is not intended to be a complete or intensive examination of the sources for all of Lazio due to the impracticalities of such an investigation within the scope of this dissertation. Rather, I aim to provide a critical analysis of the material I have been able to track down at the time of this writing, some of which has never been published and is unknown in the literature. My discussion includes the processions and ritual images of Viterbo, Tarquinia, Subiaco, Anagni, and Perugia (which, in Umbria, is a unique example of a city outside of Lazio following the Lazio processional model, the political reasons for which I will discuss).

This chapter analyzes the material and textual evidence in order to identify performative paradigms. I consider the procession routes, the Marian imagery used, and other performative details in individual Laziale cities. The available evidence confirms that the processions were all inspired by a common source—Rome and its cult of the *Acheropita*—which is evident from the near-invariability of certain elements, such as the celebration of the event on the vigil (the eve) of the Assumption, an *Acheropita* replica as the protagonist, ritual cleansing of the image, and an allegorical reunion of the Savior with his mother Mary, either in the form of an encounter

between the Savior panel and an image of the Virgin, or in a more symbolic “reception” of the son at the city’s primary Marian church, embodying the mother in architectural form. I compare these paradigms to examples of processional practices for the Assumption in other parts of central Italy (Umbria, Tuscany, and Emilia Romagna). The contrasting practices of these neighboring regions, the most notable being an emphasis on Marian rather than Christological imagery, underscores the unique character of Lazio’s Assumption processions and the need for further study of this distinctive regional tradition.

Defining the nature and broader significance of the late medieval Assumption processions of Lazio requires positioning them within developments in urban performative practice in the larger geographical territory of central Italy. This type of approach, on a focused and systematic level, has yet to be applied to the study of the Laziale rituals. For example, the wealth of primary source material which has been central in the study of late medieval and early modern religious drama and civic spectacle in Umbria and Tuscany has never been considered as a source of insight. Drawing primarily on these textual sources, chapter seven presents one model for how the Lazio Assumption processions can be understood and appreciated from the perspective of contemporary urban studies and public religious devotion. Framed within the celebration of the Assumption I will examine how the late medieval and early modern Laziale processions were a form of religious theater that both inspired and were influenced by developments in new dramatic formats in adjacent regions. As mentioned earlier, the thirteenth century saw the advent in central Italy of the mendicant orders and a profusion of lay religious societies in the form of confraternities, often organized around trade guilds. Both the friars and the confraternities came to play a central role in the performance of liturgical processions. The processions, already important communal rituals, gained an even more pronounced civic

character. They also gained new visual media, such as elaborate costumes, processional apparatuses, banners, and effigies that functioned as “stage props” in the performance of the processions. Tivoli’s *Inchinata* is an example of this contemporary evolution in dramatic expression, as I will demonstrate. Additionally, the new lay societies of Umbria, based on popular literary sources like Jacopo da Voragine’s *Golden Legend*, introduced the genre of the *lauda drammatica*, or sacred play. Over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this evolved into the even more elaborate theatrical tradition of the *sacra rappresentazione* with its sophisticated staging machinery—a technological innovation particularly associated with Florence. These new theatrical formats of Umbria and Tuscany celebrated the miracle of the Virgin’s Assumption by embellishing the idea of a symbolic reunion between mother and son—conceptualized in Rome and Lazio as a meeting of icons of Christ and Mary or a visit of a Christ icon to his mother’s titular church—by performing it as an extended narrative with elaborate dialogue, live actors, effigies, and machinery. By the fifteenth century Lazio, more conservative due to the stronger presence of papal authority and tradition, had also adopted these new dramatic innovations for the feast of the Assumption. While the traditional Laziale processions maintained their distinctive ritual formulas, they were now complemented by narrative plays and spectacles that exploited the new media, classical references, and expressiveness that had already come to characterize the feast of the Assumption in other parts of central Italy. This phenomenon—I will discuss examples in Rome, Tivoli, and Viterbo—represents the introduction of a new era of multi-media vernacular theater in Lazio.

With Tivoli’s *Inchinata* and the analogous Laziale Assumption processions as its focal subjects, this dissertation explores broader problems in the relationship of ritual practice to communal memory and urban identity in a transitional period of Italian history. It seeks to

demonstrate that civic performances that choreographed sacred objects, public landmarks, and movement of bodies through space was a self-referential act that united a populace, reinforced its social hierarchy, and defined its relationship to neighboring communities. I argue that this ritual paradigm was both a cause and an effect of an evolving urban culture between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries that was characterized by new institutions and growing political autonomy, secularism, social stratification, and artistic expressiveness. This methodology pushes beyond the canonical ways of thinking about medieval art and architecture—materials, style, iconography—and looks at urban figural and structural monuments from a broader interdisciplinary perspective that considers how ritual function is a part of their intrinsic value and purpose.

2.0 THE ORIGINS AND DOCUMENTARY RECORD OF THE *INCHINATA*

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the limited existing literature on Tivoli's *Inchinata* procession the most authoritative work is Vincenzo Pacifici's article "L'Inchinata: significato della cerimonia" ("The *Inchinata*: the meaning of the ceremony").² Published in 1929, the work is now over 80 years old and this distinctive liturgical event has yet to be revisited in any focused critical study. Pacifici's explanation of the *Inchinata* is poetically written and ambitious in its detailed account of the procession. It includes some illuminating comments on the liturgy and socio-historical elements, such as the procession's route, the participation of key civic institutions, and the dual religious-political message of the rite. Pacifici's work, however, is more descriptive than critical and more based on local tradition and personal observation than documentary and scientific evidence, as is sometimes the case with the work of local historians of his day. Nevertheless, as the most detailed and insightful existing work on the *Inchinata*, Pacifici's article is often the sole or principle source cited by other scholars over the last eight decades who have mentioned the Tiburtine procession.³

² Pacifici, "L'Inchinata: il significato della cerimonia," *Bollettino di studi storici ed archeologici di Tivoli* (hereafter *BSSAT*) 11 (1929): 1423-1439.

³ For the secondary literature on the *Inchinata* procession: Thomas Ashby, "Tivoli and the *Inchinata*," in *Some Italian Scenes and Festivals* (London: Methuen & Co., 1929), 27-57; Orazio Coccanari, "La Rinchinata di Bastia e l'origine dell'Inchinata di Tivoli," *BSSAT*, anno 14, n. 53 (Jan, 1932): 1929-1933; Wolfgang Volbach, "Il Cristo di Sutri e la venerazione del SS. Salvatore nel Lazio," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 17 (1940-41): 119; Filippo Caraffa, "La processione del SS. Salvatore a Roma nel Lazio nella notte dell'Assunta," in *Lunario romano: feste e cerimonie nella tradizione romana e laziale* (Rome: F.lli Palombi, 1976), 144; Ernst

This chapter presents the documentary evidence for the procession—both textual and material—that will serve as the foundation for this dissertation. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first describes the *Inchinata* procession as it is performed today. The second discusses the historical textual sources for the *Inchinata* procession and demonstrates that it was a continuous tradition in Tivoli from at least the early fourteenth century through the present day. The third section presents an overview of the liturgical and ritual inspiration for the *Inchinata*: the medieval Assumption procession in Rome. Based on this historical context, together with the physical evidence of the *Trittico del Salvatore* itself, the fourth and final section will argue that Tivoli's *Inchinata* probably originated in the twelfth century and was an effect of a papal campaign to ensure loyalty to the church and regularize and codify liturgical practices in the Papal States.⁴

Kitzinger, "A Virgin's Face: Antiquarianism in Twelfth-Century Art," *The Art Bulletin* 62, n. 1 (Mar, 1980): 12, 16-17; Hans Belting, "Icons and Roman Society in the Twelfth Century," in *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: Functions, Forms, and Regional Traditions*, ed. William Tronzo (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1989), 38; William Tronzo, "Apse Decoration, the Liturgy and the Perception of Art in Medieval Rome: S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Maria Maggiore," in *Italian Church Decoration*, 177; Gerhard Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani. Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta humaniora, 1990), 58; Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: a History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 325, 502; Adriano Genga, "La processione dell'*Inchinata* a Tivoli" (tesi di laurea, Università di Roma La Sapienza, 1998-99); Enrico Parlato, "Le icone in processione," in *Arte e iconografia a Roma da Costantino a Cola di Rienzo*, eds. Maria Andaloro and Serena Romano (Milan: Jaca book, 2000), 81; Francesco Ferruti, "Un recente studio sulla dormitio Virginis e alcune considerazioni sull'iconografia mariana nell'arte medievale tiburtina," *Atti e memoria della Società Tiburtina di Storia e dell'Arte* (hereafter *AMSTSA*) 75 (2002): 135-150; Herbert Kessler, "The Acheropita Triptych in Tivoli," in *Immagine e Ideologia. Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle*, eds. Arturo Calzona, Roberto Campari, and Massimo Mussini (Milan: Electa, 2007), 117-125; Francesco Ferruti, "La cattedrale di San Lorenzo a Tivoli: espressione della storia di un popolo," *AMSTSA* 81 (2008): 141-142; Nino Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous and its Reproduction: Medieval Paintings of the Savior in Rome and Latium," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 55 (2010): 239.

⁴ The Papal States included what are today the regions of Lazio, Umbria, the Marche, and part of Emilia Romagna.

2.2 THE *INCHINATA* PROCESSION TODAY

The protagonist of Tivoli's *Inchinata* procession is the *Trittico del Salvatore* in the cathedral of S. Lorenzo.⁵ The wooden triptych is composed of a central panel with Christ Enthroned, his right hand raised in a gesture of blessing and his left hand holding an open book with the words, *Qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris set abebit lumen vite in eternum*, a paraphrase of John 8:12 ("I am the light of the world. He that follows me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life"). Below Christ's footstool (in a much ruined state) are depicted the Four Rivers of Paradise with two stags drinking from the waters, in the bottom right and left corners of the panel.

The left wing of the triptych features a standing figure of the *Madonna Avvocata*, an image of the Virgin who turns toward the seated Savior at a three-quarter angle, raising both arms in a gesture of intercession. The right wing contains a standing image of John the Evangelist who likewise turns toward the Savior, saluting him with his right hand and holding a scroll with his left. The scroll contains the opening of John's Gospel: *In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum et deus erat verbum* ("In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God"). The triptych's tri-partite scheme of Christ flanked by the Virgin and St John the Evangelist is a version of the Byzantine compositional arrangement

⁵ For the recent literature on the *Trittico del Salvatore*: Marco Vendittelli, "Testimonianze sulla cattedrale di Tivoli nel medioevo," *AMSTSA* 57 (1984): 100-101; Constantine P. Charalampidis, "Rare Presentation of the Soul of the Theotokos in the Iconography of the Dormition," in *Studi in memoria di Giuseppe Bovini* (Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 1989), 142-146; Belting, "Icons and Roman Society in the Twelfth Century," 37; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 323, 325, 502; Maria Grazia Bernardini, "La coperta argentea del Trittico del Salvatore nel duomo di Tivoli," *AMSTSA* 67 (1994): 49-85; Marco Ferretti *et al*, "Relazione tecnico scientifica sul restauro del 'Trittico del Salvatore'," *AMSTSA* 67 (1994): 62-85; Ines Maria Marcelli *et al*, "Il restauro del rivestimento argenteo del 'Trittico del SS. Salvatore': ricerca e innovazione," *Kermes. Arte e tecnica del restauro* 8, 23 (May-Aug 1995): 53-75; Walter Angelelli, "La diffusione dell'immagine lateranense: le repliche del Salvatore nel Lazio," in *Imago Christi: il volto di Cristo nell'arte* (Gaeta: Type Studio, 2007), 46, 47; Kessler, "The Acheropita Triptych in Tivoli," 117-125; Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous," 234-235, 239, 240, 241, 244, 251, 252-253.

known as the *deesis* (Greek for “supplication”).⁶ Below the figure of the standing Virgin is a narrative scene of her Dormition/Assumption [fig 6]. Mary reclines on her bed with the apostles crowded around her head and feet. Christ stands behind her and with his right hand reaches out to bless Mary, while with his left he holds aloft her soul, depicted as a small child. The child, echoing the gesture of intercession of the adult Marian figure above, reaches heavenward toward the archangel Michael, waiting to usher her into Paradise. Below the standing figure of John on the triptych’s right wing is a second narrative scene featuring John preaching.

For ceremonial occasions the triptych is clad in a gilt silver revetment [fig 7], which dates to 1449.⁷ The central panel of this covering features a reiteration of the figure of the enthroned

⁶ The subject of the *deesis* comes up in several places in this dissertation; therefore I will take the opportunity here to say a few words about its iconography and origins. The *deesis* of Tivoli’s *Trittico del Salvatore* is a variation of the more common *deesis* type which features John the Baptist on the right of Christ. Other variations depict another saint or an angel in this position. The oldest representation of the *deesis* in Rome is a column fresco in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua, which dates from the seventh or eighth century. This was a period of heavy artistic influence from Byzantium. The oldest surviving depiction of the *deesis* in the East is in an enamel diptych in Georgia dating from the eighth or ninth century (there were probably earlier eastern examples that did not survive iconoclasm). Some scholars have argued that there is an inherent apocalyptic character to the *deesis* and have proposed that it originated in depictions of the Last Judgment. However, Last Judgment scenes containing a *deesis* only emerged around the twelfth century, and even then the *deesis* continued to appear in independent contexts. See Maria Andaloro, “Note sui temi iconografici della *deesis* e della haghiosoritissa,” *Rivista dell’Istituto Nazionale d’Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte* (1970): 85-153. Andaloro adds that, “when the *deesis* is present in the representation of the Judgment, it [the *deesis*] maintains its individuality—the central theme of the remaining representation seems to stop at the edge of the mandorla that encloses Christ between Mary and John—but [the *deesis*] loses its abstract character in that Mary and John intercede not only for humankind but *before* humankind. The *Deesis* in the Last Judgment, historicized, and therefore no longer abstract, enters into the last phase of its development, the third, which cannot be conceived without the slow maturing of the second phase, the true and real *Deesis*” (Andaloro, 94). What Andaloro is arguing, therefore, is that the iconography of the Last Judgment derived, at least in part, from an older, established tradition of the *deesis* rather than the other way around. So we can see scenes of the Last Judgment with flanking intercessory figures of Mary and John as a *type* of *deesis*, or the “fully evolved” *deesis* in the iconographic sense, but not the only, or even most common, context in which the *deesis* appears. This is consistent with the use of the *deesis* in Tivoli’s *Trittico del Salvatore* and the related late medieval Savior triptychs in Anagni, Viterbo, Trevignano, and Bracciano. This is also true for the Lateran *Acheropita*, which was probably displayed as a triptych by the late Middle Ages (see discussion in chapter six). These triptychs all share a supplicatory message in which apocalyptic theology does not appear to play a significant role.

⁷ The donation of the covering is recorded in a dated inscription at the base of the half-dome that crowns the work. The inscription reads, “Reformatio huius imaginis fuit tempore prioratus domini antonii scensis canonici tiburtini 1449” (“The restoration of this image was made in the time of the priorship of Don Antonio Scensi, Tiburtine canon in 1449”). The “restoration” probably refers to the remaking of an earlier silver cover, traces of which were found in 1919. The earlier cover will be addressed in more detail later in this chapter.

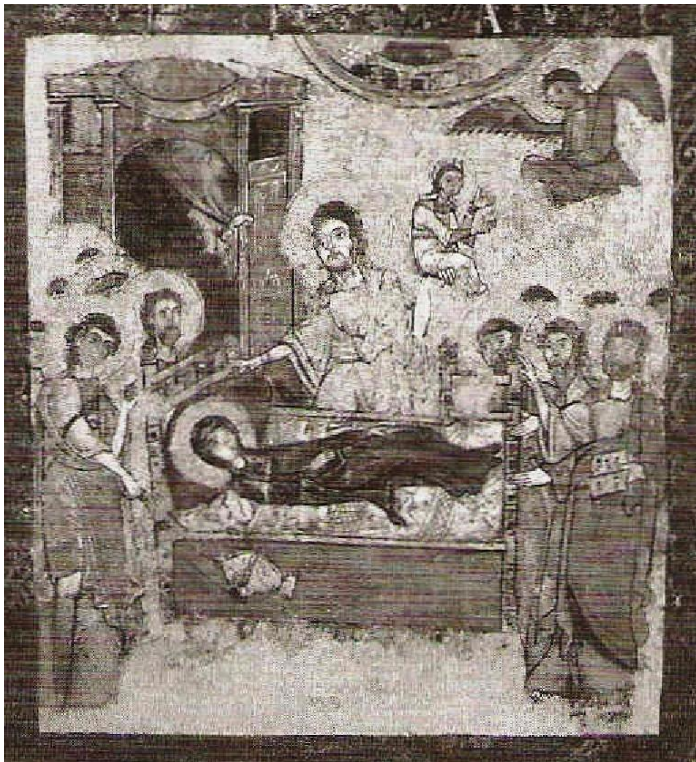


Fig 6. Dormition/Assumption of the Virgin, bottom of left wing of *Trittico del Salvatore*, Tivoli cathedral. Photo, Soprintendenza Per I Beni Storici, Artistici ed Etnoantropologici del Lazio.



Fig 7. *Trittico del Salvatore* displayed in silver ceremonial revetment before *Inchinata* procession, Tivoli cathedral, 2009. Photo, Rebekah Perry

Christ underneath with an opening to display the painted head. The left wing displays the figures of evangelists Matthew and Mark, the Angel of the Annunciation, and saints Paul and Lawrence. On the right wing appear the evangelists Luke and John, the Virgin of the Annunciation, and saints Peter and Alexander. These three panels are crowned by a half dome on the front of which is a row of five niches enclosing figurines of saints Peter, Paul, Lawrence, Alexander, and John the Baptist.⁸

The *Inchinata* celebration begins at the cathedral. The Savior triptych has been taken out of its chapel, the second in the left aisle, to be displayed on the right side of the apse, facing the congregation in its silver revetment. After the preliminary liturgical rites are conducted,⁹ the procession begins. Leaving from the piazza in front of the main door of the cathedral, the drummers lead the way. Next in order are the confraternities and professional guilds in their ceremonial robes, carrying banners, votive candles, and statues of their patron saints. Out of the west side-door of the cathedral is then carried the Savior triptych on its massive wooden litter by the *Confraternita del Salvatore* (“Confraternity of the Savior”), the confraternity founded in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century for the veneration and maintenance of the image. As the Savior triptych takes its place in the procession it is followed in the rear by the clergy, the last of whom is the bishop, then the mayor and other city officials, and finally the faithful of the city.

⁸ These five figures were made (or remade) in 1554, later than the rest of the work. An inscription on this register reads, “Restauratio facta fuit amore dei anno domini MDLIII.”

⁹ These rites consist of the hymn “Davanti al Re” (“Before the King”); verses and responses from “Inno all’Amore di Dio” (“Hymn to the Love of God”), based on Ephesians 1:3-10; two sermons (the first by a reader and the second by the bishop); a reading from the Gospel of Mathew (28:1-10); the antiphon and verse “Signore, dona la pace ai nostri giorni” (from the original Latin: “Da Pacem Domine” in the original Latin); and a prayer by the bishop, “O Dio onnipotente ed eterno, che per dare agli uomini un esempio di umiltà hai voluto che il tuo unico Figlio si facesse uomo e subisse il supplizio della Croce per la nostra salvezza” (“Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui humano generi, ad imitandum humilitatis exemplum salvatorem nostrum carnem sumere et crucem subire fecisti concede propitius ut et patientiae ipsius habere documenta et resurrectionis consortia mereatu”).



Fig 8. Tivoli's historic medieval center with *Inchinata* procession route (in red). Dark green blocks indicate areas of modern expansion. Map, Rebekah Perry.

The procession [fig 8] makes its way to its first ritual stop, the *benedizione delle acque* (“blessing of the waters”), in the center of Ponte Gregoriano, the bridge over the Anio that connects the east and west banks of the city. During this rite the Savior image is turned to face each of the four cardinal directions as the bishop prays for the city and its inhabitants. Then the prior of the *Confraternita del Salvatore* lifts a lighted candle from the icon’s litter and throws it into the Anio. The procession continues to the church and hospital of San Giovanni Evangelista

where the second ritual ceremony with the icon takes place (the *sosta di preghiera e penitenza* or “pause of prayer and penance”). During this stop, the prior of the hospital ritually “washes” the feet of the image with holy water. The throng then makes its way to its destination: Piazza Trento in front of the early twelfth-century church of Sta. Maria Maggiore.

Here, the *Madonna delle Grazie* icon, a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century facsimile of an original panel painting made in the second half of the thirteenth century, awaits in the doorway of the church. She is held aloft on a wooden litter by the masons guild in their blue and gold robes. The *Madonna delle Grazie* is a half-length image of the Virgin turned three-quarters to her right, raising her arms to her side in a gesture of intercession. She, like the figure of the Virgin on the left wing of the Savior triptych, is of the *Madonna Avvocata* image type.¹⁰ The Savior triptych is carried into the piazza to the great arch of myrtle erected for the occasion. As it approaches, the *Madonna delle Grazie* is brought out of the church to her own myrtle-adorned arch, facing the Savior icon. After the bishop delivers a sermon to the crowd, the climactic moment occurs: to the beating of drums, the two massive litters bearing the images are inclined, or “bowed” toward each other three times as the people shout “Misericordia! Misericordia!” (“Mercy! Mercy!”). This ritual climax is followed by a dazzling display of fireworks that cascade down the façade of Sta. Maria Maggiore and light up the sky above it. The two images are carried into the church and placed opposite each other under the central arches of the nave arcade. The faithful enter to venerate them. The next morning, Assumption Day, mass is celebrated at Sta. Maria Maggiore, after which the two images are brought back out into the piazza to repeat the ritual triple bow of salutation. The *Madonna delle Grazie* is brought

¹⁰ The *Madonna delle Grazie* icon will be treated in depth in chapter five.

back inside the church, while the Savior triptych is returned to its home in the Duomo. The procession has now completed a circle of the city's historic medieval center.¹¹

2.3 THE MEANING OF THE BOW

The ritual encounter of the two icons symbolizes the moment when Mary was reunited with her son at the Assumption (her departure from the earth), which is at the theological core of the August Marian feast.¹² The Bible tells us little about the end of Mary's life. In the mid fifth century, following the council of Chalcedon in 451, however, detailed narrative accounts of her death and bodily assumption began to appear in the East.¹³ According to a fifth-century Greek narrative attributed to John the Evangelist ("Pseudo-John the Evangelist"), Mary died at her house in Jerusalem, attended by the apostles, Christ, and his angels. The apostles buried her body in a tomb at Gethsemane in the valley of Josaphat. After three days her body was translated to heaven.¹⁴ This translation is known as the "bodily Assumption" of Mary. In a similar narrative of Orthodox theologian John, archbishop of Thessalonika (610-30), at her death, Christ entrusted

¹¹ The route, the liturgy, and the ritual ceremonies of the procession are addressed in more detail in chapters three and four.

¹² For the history of the Assumption feast, see Martin Jugie, "La mort et l'assomption de la sainte Vierge: Étude historico-doctrinale," *Studi et testi* 114 (1944): 172-212; Simon Claude Mimouni, "Dormition et assomption de Marie: histoire des traditions anciennes," *Théologie historique* 98 (1995): 438-71; Michel van Esbroeck, "Le culte de la Vierge de Jérusalem à Constantinople aux 6^e-7^e siècles," *Revue des études byzantines* 46 (1988): 181-90; G. Frénaud, "Le culte de Notre Dame dans l'ancienne liturgie latine," in *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge*, ed. Hubert du Manoir, 8 vols (Paris: Beauchesne, 1949-71), 6:157-211; B. Capelle, "La liturgie mariale en occident," in *Maria. Etudes sur la Sainte Vierge*, 1:217-45; G. Frénaud, "Marie e l'Eglise d'après les liturgies latines du VII^e au XI^e siècle," *Études mariales: Marie et l'Église* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1951), 1:39-58; and B. Capelle, "La fête de l'Assomption dans l'histoire liturgique," *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses* 3 (1926): 33-45.

¹³ For detailed discussions of the narrative texts and their sources, see Rachel Fulton, "'Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?'" The Song of Songs as the Historia for the Office of the Assumption," *Mediaeval Studies* 60-61 (1998-99): 82-85; and Stephen Shoemaker, *The Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

¹⁴ See J.K. Elliott, trans., *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 701-8.

Mary's soul to the archangel Michael. Three days after her burial, the apostles discovered her tomb empty and understood that she had been assumed into Paradise.¹⁵ The feast of the Assumption emerged in Constantinople (under the title "Dormition"¹⁶) during the reign of Emperor Maurice (539-602), who established it in the liturgical calendar on August 15. When the new Marian feasts (Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, Birth of the Virgin) entered the Roman calendar in the seventh century, a Latin version of the apocryphal story appeared. Officially titled *Transitus beatae semper virginis Mariae*, the text is known commonly as the "Gospel of Pseudo-Melito."¹⁷ Other Latin versions are known from the Carolingian period: *Translatio sacratissima virginis sanctae marie*,¹⁸ *Adsumptio sancte Mariae*,¹⁹ and *Transitus sive assumptio sancte Marie*.²⁰ In the thirteenth century, Jacobus de Voragine synthesized and popularized the earlier narratives of the Assumption in his *Golden Legend*, composed around 1260.²¹

¹⁵ See Martin Jugie, "Homélies mariales byzantines II," *Patrologia orientalis* 19 (1926): 375-438.

¹⁶ The "falling asleep" of the Virgin at the end of her time on earth.

¹⁷ Pseudo-Melito survives in two recensions: *Transitus* B1 (see Elliott, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 708-14); and *Transitus* B2 (see Monika Haibach-Reinisch, ed., *Ein neuer "Transitus Mariae" des Pseudo-Melito, Bibliotheca Assumptionis B. Virginis Mariae* 5 [Rome: Academia Mariana, 1962], 63-87).

¹⁸ So-called *Transitus* W (see André Wilmart, "L'ancien récit latin de l'Assomption," *Analecta Regimensia, Studi e Testi* 59 [1933]: 325-57).

¹⁹ So-called *Transitus* A (see Antoine Wenger, *L'assomption de la T.S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VIe au Xe siècle: études e documents* [Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1955], 245-56).

²⁰ So-called *Transitus* C (see Bernard Capelle, "Vestiges grecques et latins d'un antique 'Transitus' de la Vierge," *Analecta Bollandiana* 67 [1949]: 21-48).

²¹ For de Voragine's version of the Assumption, see Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, ed., *Iacopo da Varazze, Legenda Aurea* (Florence: Einaudi, 1998), vol II, 779-810. This critical edition in the original Latin is based on five manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 240 inf. (Bologna, 1272-1276); Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M76 sup. (Genoa, 1292-1299); Monza, Archivio della Basilica, 7b-24 (olim K 2 – 125) (13th cen); Novara, Archivio Storico Diocesano, Biblioteca Capitolare XXIV (13th-14th cen); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Reg. 485 (13th cen).

Orthodox tradition has always held to the version of Mary's Assumption or Dormition as recounted in the apocryphal narratives: Mary experienced a normal death and then after her burial, her physical body was raised up uncorrupted into heaven. In the Roman Catholic church, however, there is no consensus about whether Mary actually died before her bodily assumption. The Virgin's Assumption did not become official doctrine until 1950 with Pope Pius XII's Apostolic constitution *Munificentissimus Deus*, which did not take an official position on whether Mary died before her departure from the earth.

2.4 THE TEXTUAL RECORD FOR THE HISTORICAL PROCESSION

The earliest surviving textual evidence for the *Inchinata* procession is in Tivoli's city statutes of the year 1305, kept today in the municipal archives.²² The statutes contain a penalty for fighting in public on Christmas eve and Christmas, on the eve of the Assumption and Assumption Day, and on Easter, "when the men go with the Savior in procession" (...*in festo natalis Domini et in nocte eiusdem, in festo Marie de Augusto et in nocte eius, in de Pascatis, infra civitatem Tyburis, dum vadunt homines cum Salvatore per processiones vel ad letanias*).²³ Additionally, the statutes order that the city curfew be suspended on Christmas eve, on the eve of the Assumption, and on the feast day of patron saint Lawrence on August 10 (*Statuimus quod nullus eat per civitatem Tyburis post tertium sonum campane sine licentia curie vel capudmilitie...excepto... in nocte Natalis Domini et diei veneris sancti et in nocte sancte Marie*

²² Archivio Comunale di Tivoli (hereafter ACT), Sezione Preunitarie, Statuto del 1305, n. 1 bis.

²³ Statuto del 1305, f. 83v. For the full text of the chapter, see appendix A.

de Augusto et beati Laurentii....).²⁴ It is clear from these statutes that by the first decade of the fourteenth century, among other especially important occasions, Tivoli held a nocturnal civic procession on August 14, the eve of the Assumption, and carried an image of the Savior in that procession. Furthermore, the “men who go with the Savior in procession” may be the earliest reference to the *Confraternita del Salvatore*, or its prototype.²⁵

Another edition of the municipal statutes, dating to the end of the fourteenth century or beginning of the fifteenth, gives the order to be followed in the Assumption procession by the city’s trade guilds (*Ordo dupplerior artium Civitatis Tybur euntium Tybur in fero Sancte Marie de Augusti & primo...*),²⁶ a provision which reveals the distinct civic nature of the procession.

The Savior image which the city statutes specify as being carried in the Assumption procession is the *Trittico del Salvatore* in the cathedral. The prominence of the image’s cult as one of the most important in the city is documented from the early thirteenth century. A plaque made in 1580, displayed on the left wall of the triptych’s chapel in the cathedral of S. Lorenzo, records that the chapel (the original one in the medieval cathedral) was consecrated by Gregory IX in 1224 when he was still Cardinal Ugolino (*Quod a Gregorio Papa Nono consecratum*

²⁴ Statuto del 1305, ff. 37v-38r. For the full text of the statute, see appendix B.

²⁵ The *Confraternita del Salvatore* is explicitly mentioned by name in texts from the 1380s: in 1384 Bishop Pietro Cenci conceded some land to the confraternity (Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma [hereafter ASR], Ospedale del Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum, cass. 445, n. 14); also, a 1388 will in the notary registers of Tivoli bequeaths some money to the confraternity: “Item reliquit societati Salvatoris de Tybure libras provisionorum octo” (Tivoli, Archivio Comunale, Sezione Preunitarie, *Testamentum*, f. 147v).

²⁶ *Statuta et reformationes circa stilum civitatis Tyburtinae incipit liber primus* II (Rome, 1522), 24r. The order of the guilds is: greengrocers, wagoners, millers, carpenters, shoemakers, butchers, merchants, ironsmiths, notaries, and plowmen. For the text of the statute, see appendix C. *Statuta et reformationes* contains statutes of the commune from 1386 to 1522. While the section giving the processional order for the trade guilds is not dated, Sandro Carocci, the foremost living authority on the medieval documentary sources on Tivoli, states that it seems they belong to the statutes of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (Carocci, *Tivoli nel basso medioevo: società cittadina ed economia agraria* [Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1988], 314, n. 1).

*existit. Anno a San Deiparae Virginis partu M.CC.XXIII. XVII.K.LVI).*²⁷ Chapter 133 (*De feriis*)

in the statutes of 1305 lists what appears to be the anniversary of the consecration of the image's chapel among the city's most important civic holidays:

Statuimus et ordinamus quod in Nativitate domini nostri. Iesu Christi et Resurrectionis eius per octo dies ante et post festum, et in dominicis diebus, in dedicatione Salvatoris [emphasis mine]... *per unum diem festivitas et per .XV. dies ante festum omnium sanctorum, item et in tempore messium et vindemiarum dum ipse messes et vindemie fiunt...etc.*²⁸

The earliest narrative descriptions of the *Trittico del Salvatore* and the *Inchinata* procession are provided in the eye-witness account of local historian Giovanni Maria Zappi in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. In describing the appearance, ritual use, and display of the image Zappi records that,

The city of Tivoli also possesses an image of the Savior in beautiful silver, which one could call ancient, painted by St Luke, tall in height with a dome above it with many stars gilded with many jewels, above which is a crown or, rather, an adornment four palmi high and similarly four palmi wide with five apostles all in relief, one palmo high, and all with their beautiful tabernacles in intaglio of damascene, and under these tabernacles are positioned the apostles. The Savior has a mantle which is used when it goes through the city in procession on the vigil and feast of the Assumption in August. The mantle is of crimson velvet with five bars of brocade with the coat-of-arms of the house of Leonina, with a very beautiful fringe of gold around it. Its chapel is adorned with beautiful works in stucco, both in relief and painting, with many panels decorated with angels and other similarly beautiful adornments, said to be of such beauty that it could be in one of the most beautiful churches in Rome. In the chapel there is a marble altar with an iron grill around the holy body of St Quirino for whom there is a marble epitaph inside the chapel, which was consecrated by Pope Gregory IX on the day of St Vito, and into which women cannot enter except on his feast day. And besides this, Pope Gregory XIII has given to the

²⁷ The plaque was originally displayed in the medieval chapel and then transferred to the new one when the cathedral was rebuilt in the mid seventeenth century. The entirety of the text of the plaque reads, "Hoc in Sacello Salvatoris nostri effigies a B. Luca Evangelista depicta venerationi tam debita, q. devota custoditur. In eodemque Corpus B. Quirini servatur, cujus praeter caetera memoria cernitur in lapide in ingressu a dextris. Huc tamen Mulieribus ingredi nefas est nisi unico die dedicationis dumtaxat ejusdem. Quod a Gregorio Papa Nono consecratum existit. Anno a San Deiparae Virginis partu M.CC.XXIII. XVII.K.LVI. Quod vero Fidelium devotio in dies augeatur, atque hoc omnibus innotescat Prior, & Confratres Societatis Salvatoris opus hoc ejusdem Confraternitatis aere faciendum curarunt circiter idus Januarias. An. Christiane salutis MD.LXXX." See appendix D.

²⁸ Statuto del 1305, f. 27v.

altar of the chapel the privilege of celebrating masses in which a soul is freed from Purgatory. His Holiness gave this holy treasure for our souls to which the mercy of the Highest gives pardon.²⁹

Zappi records that for processions “in honor of the Santissimo Salvator” (which includes the Assumption procession) and on “the day of the Santissimo Sacramento” (*Corpus Christi*) the following procedures are carried out by the city’s confraternities and trade guilds:

First of all, in these holy processions all the artisans bring their talami [portable processional apparatuses] to piazza S. Lorenzo at the cathedral of the city. These talami are decorated according to each craft, with a fire lighted inside, carried by four porters each. All the officials of the guilds carry a white lighted torch of at least four pounds. In order after these are the officials of the confraternity of S. Giovanni Evangelista, of the Annunziata, of S. Maria del Ponte, of S. Maria della Oliva, of S. Rocco and finally the most noble, the confraternity of the Salvatore, with all the lords, officials, and magistrates of the city, with the governor and judge of the municipality. They go two by two, according to the customs and precedence of the city of Rome, all with lighted torches in hand, of such beautiful type and style, and they count in the number of 120 torches, all white, except the men and confratelli of the company of S. Maria della Oliva who carry green, and the company of S. Rocco who carry red, because this is the old custom. After these come all the clergy of the city...in a manner that makes a beautiful processional order. Not to say that it compares to the processions in the city of Rome, first city of the world, when the holy sacrament is accompanied by the S.ta di N.S [sic], nor like the solemn procession that is made in the city of Venice on the day of the Ascension when she marries the sea, and the serene prince Duke of Venice officiates with the lord Patriarch and all the other lords of the Senate inside the galleon specially prepared for this effect with the eight standards. At the head of that procession are also brought six trumpets of silver made in the ancient Roman style, with the music of six pipers behind...³⁰

Zappi continues with a description of what occurs in the Assumption procession, specifically:

When the Savior our Lord is raised on the eve of the August feast of Santa Maria from the church of S. Lorenzo, the Officials and Magistrates of the city are the first to go with it to the piazza, where a salute is fired, and they proceed with the music of the canons and clergy, with the monks, to many places of the city where there are apparatuses with fountains...impressive to see. And those who maintain these apparatuses and ornaments

²⁹ Giovanni Maria Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, ed. Vincenzo Pacifici (Tivoli: Società tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte, 1920), 5-6.

³⁰ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 834-35.

keep cups full of rose water and other aromatic water in hand, and with a twig of myrtle or rosemary toss it in the faces of the gentlemen and gentlewomen, which is done for no other reason than for ancient custom, for superstition, and for amusement. The Savior arrives at the Church of S. Giovanni Evangelista, before whose door stands a friar of the Dominican order adorned in cloak and stole who takes in hand a bowl of rose water and washes the holy feet of our Salvatore, an act performed anciently, a ceremony done with good faith and holy charity. But there is not a man in the city who knows the origins of this ceremony, except that it is a very old custom and therefore will be custom always. And while this ceremony is performed the men of the company of S. Giovanni stand with an infinity of lighted torches while the Savior passes. The procession then proceeds toward the church of Francesco or, rather, the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, the church of the frati zoccolanti [Franciscans friars], and here the Savior is placed. The procession having arrived then in the piazza of the church, the image of the glorious mother Virgin Mary is brought by the carpenters, artisans, and masons, the men charged with taking care of the mother in similar situations and occurrences, to the encounter with the Savior, to receive Him in her holy church. They bow: the glorious mother Mary to her Son, and the Savior makes reverence to his glorious mother. During this act the voices of the people are heard shouting loudly, “Misericordia, misericordia,” with a clamor and great devotion from people of both sexes...Afterward, the Savior enters first into the church, and he and the glorious mother are positioned in their usual places, the Madonna at the right hand of the Savior, with an infinity of lighted torches. The images are guarded all through the night and are continuously visited by men and women, widows and spinsters. In the morning is the feast of the Madonna. A solemn and holy mass is sung with the music of the canons of the duomo, with all the burning torches of the talami. When the mass is finished, the talami are brought out of the church toward S. Lorenzo, duomo of the city, and the people, hand in hand in the same order, go out in like manner with the Savior and with the glorious Virgin Mary, and the images repeat the same act of reverence one to another with the same cry of “misericordia.” All the people, after making this act, progress toward the chapel in the church of S. Lorenzo where there are great multitudes of lighted torches on both the right and left hand and great multitudes both of the city and the nearby towns and lands, and also of the city of Rome. Such multitudes that on the night before nothing can be heard but coaches and carriages coming to see this holy procession: men, women, and children with great satisfaction and gladness.³¹

Chronologically, the next surviving document relating to Tivoli’s *Inchinata* procession is a municipal letter, today in the city archives, dated July 28, 1677. The letter is addressed to Sig. Vincenzo Colonna and regards a dispute between the city officials and the cathedral canons over the manner in which the ceremonial votive candles should be offered at the vigil of the feast of St

³¹ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 84-85. See appendix E.

Lawrence on August 10 and in the processions at the vigil and feast day of the Assumption. The letter confirms that the ceremonial traditions for the Assumption described by Zappi were still in practice at the end of the seventeenth century:

...a procession is made on the vigil of Santa Maria of August which begins at the cathedral, and the image of the holy Savior is taken down and carried through the city to the church of San Francesco [Sta. Maria Maggiore]; and then in the morning the procession returns to the cathedral with the participation of the prelate and magistrate in both processions and with the accompaniment of two canons in the entering and exiting of the cathedral, respectively.³²

The documentation on the procession continues into the next century with an anonymous manuscript, also in the city archive, which recounts the dramatic events of the *Inchinata* of 1725. The author of the text begins by describing the tradition of the *Inchinata* procession in Tivoli, along similar lines to Zappi's account. The rest of the text recounts the specific events of the *Inchinata* of 1725 in which the cathedral canons, disgruntled at not having sufficiently stately stalls prepared for them in Sta. Maria Maggiore for the mass following the procession, ordered the Savior icon to be returned to the cathedral without engaging in the ritual bow with the Virgin and entering the church as was customary. What followed was violent chaos that engulfed the city as the police clashed with the protesting citizens and the *Confraternita del Salvatore*, enraged that the *Inchinata* ritual would not be carried out according to custom. Finally the prior of the Dominican church of San Biagio, inside which the Christ icon had been barricaded for its protection, calmed the riot. A few days later the bishop, who had been absent during the incident,

³² Tivoli, Archivio Storico Comunale, Sezione preunitaria, ms. 681, "Libro delle Lettere Spedite 1664-1685," f. i64r ("...si fa processione la vigilia di Santa Maria d'Agosto quale si principia nel duomo e si prende l'immagine dell Santissimo Salvatore, si conduce processionalmente per la città e poi alla chiesa di San Francesco: e la matina poi susseguente da San Francesco si riconduce processionalmente alla cattedrale con l'intervento del prelato e magistrato nell'una e l'altra processione e con il concetto compagno di doi canonici nell'entrare et uscire della cattedrale rispettivamente.")

with assistance from Pope Benedict XIII, allowed the Tiburtini to carry out the procession a second time, in its entirety, to everyone's relief and satisfaction.³³

The year after the events of this account Giovanni Carlo Crocchiante published his *Istoria delle chiese della città di Tivoli* (*History of the Churches of the City of Tivoli*) which provided more details about the *Inchinata* procession and the maintenance of the Savior triptych by a special confraternity (the *Confraternita del Salvatore*) dedicated to its veneration:

A confraternity of 80 brothers and an indeterminate number of sisters meets in this chapel [*Cappella del Salvatore* in the cathedral]. And the confraternity is responsible for all the expenses for the procession which is made from the cathedral on Corpus Christi and also for the procession on the feast of the Assumption, during which on the vigil, after the beginning of Vespers, the image of the Holy Savior is carried in procession and is left the whole night in the church of S. Maria Maggiore, and in the morning is brought back into the cathedral. And this holy image is displayed for the whole octave of this feast on the main altar.³⁴

Crocchiante later returns to the topic of the Assumption procession:

On August 14, after Vespers is sung, the procession of the Holy Savior is made. The image is carried through the city, and the Magistrate, the members of the Confraternita del Salvatore, and all the artisans with their talami and their saints and lit torches participate. The image is left all night in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, and in the morning mass is sung in this church by the archdeacon or other dignitary or canon, and then with the same accompaniment of the day before the image is brought back to the cathedral, remaining displayed on the main altar for the whole octave. When the octave is finished, it is returned to its chapel, carried first around the piazza, accompanied by the chapter and confratelli with lit torches.³⁵

In 1747 Tivoli's *Inchinata* ceremonies were described by Guido Marangoni in his history of the Lateran *Acheropita* and its cult:

This sacred image [Tivoli's Savior triptych] every year from time immemorial, sumptuously adorned with gold brocade and velvet, is carried in procession to the church

³³ The manuscript was published by Vincenzo Pacifici in "Una Baruffa nella Processione dell'Inchinata del 1725," *AMSTSA* 4 (1924): 81-84.

³⁴ Crocchiante, *Istoria delle chiese della città di Tivoli* (Rome: Girolamo Mainardi, 1726), 59.

³⁵ Crocchiante, *Chiese della città di Tivoli*, 75.

of Sta. Maria Maggiore of the Minori Osservanti di S. Francesco on the eve of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. In this church is kept the Mother of God herself, believed also to be a painting of St Luke, and given to Tivoli by the same S. Simplicius [Pope Simplicius, 468-483]. And when the procession reaches the piazza of S. Maria Maggiore, the sacred icon of the Blessed Virgin comes out of the church to meet the Savior. Approaching one another they bow in salutation to each other and are left displayed for the devotion of the people. And on the following morning the bishop with his chapter, the governor with the magistrate, and the majority of the people participate in the mass sung by the archdeacon or other dignitary. When this is finished, the Christ, in the same order, is brought in procession back to the cathedral.³⁶

The documentary record on the *Inchinata* procession continues into the nineteenth century with an episcopal ordinance, kept in the archive of the *Confraternita del Salvatore*, that designates the order to be followed in the procession by eleven trade guilds, three religious confraternities, various city officials, and the clergy.³⁷

A colorful description of the event was recorded in an 1825 letter of Filippo Alessandro Sebastiani after a visit to Tivoli. Sebastiani recounts what he refers to as a barbaric and embarrassing medieval tradition difficult to rout from such a provincial community. He describes the magistrates, clerics, and trade guilds with their costumes and the statuettes of their patron saints (which replaced the earlier *talami*). He records the order of the procession, the meeting and bowing of the two icons in the square of Sta. Maria Maggiore under their respective myrtle arches, and all the pomp, music, and celebration that accompanied it. Sebastiani also describes in detail the Savior triptych and the Madonna icon and their silver ceremonial revetments. He recounts the local legend that the Christ icon was taken as spolia from Tuscolo by the Tiburtini when they destroyed it in 1191, but explains that this legend, as well as those of St Luke painting

³⁶ Marangoni, *Istoria del'antichissimo oratorio o cappella di San Lorenzo nel Patriarchio Lateranense comunemente appellato Sancta Sanctorum* (Rome: San Michele, per Ottavio Puccinelli, 1747), 143-45.

³⁷ Tivoli, Archivio dell'Arciconfraternita del Salvatore, Ordinanza da tenersi nelle Processioni del Corpus Domini e del SS. Salvatore stabilita con decreto dell'Ill.mo e Rev.mo Mons. Giuseppe Crispino Mazzotti Vescovo di Tivoli del 2 Giugno 1819. The text was published by Gino Mezzetti in *Usanze e tradizioni secolari dell'antica Tibur: 1256-1986* (Tivoli: Tipografia S. Paolo, 1986), 19.

the icons and Pope Simplicius giving them to the city, are invented because the icons belong to the twelfth century, or at least later than the time of Simplicius. Sebastiani also explains that the Tiburtini's procession was modeled on that of Rome.³⁸

Two mid nineteenth-century histories, one by Francesco Bulgarini on the city of Tivoli,³⁹ and the other by Stanislao Melchiorri on the *Madonna delle Grazie* icon and the Tiburtine church of Sta. Maria Maggiore,⁴⁰ provide similar accounts of the icons and the procession.

The most important recent work on the *Inchinata* procession, as mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, is the 1929 article of historian Vincenzo Pacifici. Pacifici describes in detail the event as it occurred in his day. It is consistent in most particulars with the older accounts, going back to Zappi, and nearly identical to the manner in which the *Inchinata* is performed today. Pacifici also offers an interpretation of the procession's liturgical content and the first serious, although limited, attempt to analyze the historical and political significance of the ritual as a medieval institution.

I will revisit Pacifici's analysis in later chapters. It is useful to point out here, however, that there exists a notable difference between Pacifici's description of the *Inchinata* and the historical accounts that came before it. The 1929 account contains a description of the ritual on the Ponte Gregoriano in which the Savior triptych is turned to face the four cardinal directions, and the captain of the *Confraternita del Salvatore* lifts a lighted candle off of the icon's litter and throws it into the river. It is unclear if this ritual was always part of the procession or added later.

³⁸ Sebastiani, *Viaggio a Tivoli antichissima città latino-sabina fatto nel 1825. Lettere di Filippo Alessandro Sebastiani con rami* (Fuligno: Tipografia Tomassini, 1828), 36-44.

³⁹ Bulgarini, *Notizie storiche antiquarie intorno alla città di Tivoli* (Rome: Tipografia di Giovanni Battista Zampi, 1848), 63, 76-77, 145.

⁴⁰ Melchiorri, *Memorie storiche del culto e venerazione dell'immagine di Maria Santissima venerata in Tivoli nella chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore dei Francescani osservanti* (Rome: Tipografia Monaldi, 1864), 45-49. I will revisit Melchiorri's history of the *Madonna delle Grazie* icon in chapter five.

The ceremony as we know it today may have started in the sixteenth century. Early nineteenth-century Tivoli chronicler Sante Viola recorded that in 1593 there was a devastating flood of the Anio, which caused the river's retaining wall to collapse and the waters to deluge the city. On the eve of August 18, the feast of St Hyacinth, a boulder wedged itself into the wall, stabilizing it and causing the river to retake its natural course. The city was saved. The Tiburtini believed the boulder was the result of an intercession by St Hyacinth, from whom they had implored divine help. Tivoli declared the saint a protector of the city, and in memory of the miraculous event it held solemn festivities every year in the Dominican church of S. Biago and erected at the site of the falls an aediculum commemorating the event.⁴¹

Slightly later, Sebastiani wrote in a letter that during his visit to Tivoli he observed that on August 18, feast day of St Hyacinth, the city made a procession to the bridge at the falls of the Anio to bless the waters. He wrote that "in the past" the Tiburtini threw a lighted torch into the river as part of this event.⁴² It is possible that since the feast day of St Hyacinth (August 18) was so close to the eve of the Assumption (August 14), the Tiburtini at some point incorporated the candle-throwing ritual and blessing of the waters into the *Inchinata* procession. It seems that this switch had occurred by Sebastiani's Tivoli visit since he notes that it used to be but was no longer performed at the festivities for St Hyacinth.

The boulder incident in 1593 and the subsequent festivities for St Hyacinth do not rule out that a bridge ritual was performed in the *Inchinata* procession in the Middle Ages. It is

⁴¹ Viola, *Storia di Tivoli dalla sua origine fino al secolo 17* (Rome: Francesco Bourli, 1819), 276-278. According to Viola, the aediculum contained the following inscription: "Ioannes Maria Cocanarius caput militiae Caesar De Caesaris Horatius Cannaula Marcus Bonfilii civitatis Tiburtinae priores molem hanc ad Anienis impetum reprimendum a Thoma Crucio capitemilitiae Hercule Ciaccia Laurentio Quagliolino Flavio Bernardello prioribus AD MDXCII comuni civium aere atque opere a fundamentis incaeptum in publicum commodum perfecerunt AD MDXCIII pontificatus DN Clementis Papae VIII anno secundo huius vero civitatis antistite IO. Francisco Ripano governatore."

⁴² Sebastiani, *Viaggio a Tivoli*, 33-36.

possible that when the miracle occurred on the day of St Hyacinth in 1593 a river-blessing ritual was already in practice on the vigil of the Assumption, which was then incorporated into the festivities for St Hyacinth. The ritual throwing of ceremonial objects into bodies of water to implore divine help or favor is an extremely ancient religious ritual, going back to pagan practices. In Rome, for example, every year on May 14 a procession was held in which the Vestal virgins threw into the Tibur from Ponte Sublicio 27 wicker effigies called *Argei*.⁴³ In medieval Venice the inhabitants practiced a ritual that evoked this ancient apotropaic tradition. Every May at the Feast of Sensa, the doge threw a gold ring into the lagoon to symbolize Venice's rule over the sea (a type of mystical wedding ceremony). Medieval Tivoli, too, could have practiced an apotropaic ritual of this nature, given that the falls of the Anio and the nearby "acropolis" were an especially sacred and strategic site going back to Roman times, and given the city's close and complex relationship with the river, which both protected Tivoli from invaders and continually threatened her with its devastating floods.

The survey of textual documents presented here demonstrates a remarkable continuity of Tivoli's *Inchinata* procession over the last eight centuries. Our knowledge of the specifics of the procession's performance historically dates only to the first narrative description by Zappi in the third quarter of the sixteenth century; however, it is clear from the statutes of 1305 that a procession on the night of August 14, the vigil of the Assumption, was a civic tradition in Tivoli by the first decade of the fourteenth century, and that the procession began at the Duomo and featured the image known as the *Trittico del Salvatore*, which is still the protagonist of the ritual today.

⁴³ G. Maddolini, "Il rito degli Argei e le origini del culto di Hera a Roma," *Parola del passato. Rivista di studi antichi* 26 (1971): 153-54.

2.5 THE MODEL FOR THE *INCHINATA*: THE AUGUST 14-15 PROCESSION IN ROME

Tivoli's *Inchinata* was inspired by the Roman procession on the eve of the Assumption, practiced from at least the ninth century until the mid sixteenth century when it was banned by a decree of Pope Pius V (1566-1572).⁴⁴ The procession in the *Urbs* began at the Lateran papal palace and journeyed to the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore. It set the precedent for Tivoli and other cities around Lazio in the later Middle Ages of a ritual carrying of a monumental image of Christ Enthroned to a symbolic encounter with the Virgin. Rome's Savior image was the sixth-century panel painting kept in the *Sancta Sanctorum* ("Holy of Holies") in the Lateran. The image is known as the *Acheropita* because of the legend that it was begun by the evangelist Luke and miraculously completed by an angel.⁴⁵ The iconography of the image follows the tradition of monumental "Christ in Majesty" imagery in Early Christian apse mosaics in Rome and Ravenna, such as Santa Costanza (third quarter of fourth century), Santa Pudenziana (late fourth century), and San Vitale (first quarter of sixth century).

⁴⁴ BAV, Urb. Lat. 1040, f. 284. According to Marangoni, the procession was banned because of the unruly crowds and "abuses" that spoiled the sacredness of the event (Marangoni, *Cappella di San Lorenzo*, 139-140).

⁴⁵ According to the *Descriptio Lateranensis ecclesiae* (written c. 1100), as transcribed in R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, eds., *Codice topografico della città di Roma* (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1946), 3:357: "Et super hoc altare est imago Salvatoris mirabiliter depicta in quadam tabula, quam Lucas evangelista designavit, sed virtus Domini angelico perfecit officio." For more on the Roman Assumption procession and the *Acheropita*, see: Marangoni, *Cappella di San Lorenzo*; Volbach, "Il Cristo di Sutri," 116-126; Caraffa, "La processione del SS. Salvatore, 127-143; Kitlinger, "A Virgin's Face"; Belting, "Icons and Roman Society in the Twelfth Century"; Tronzo, "Apse Decoration"; Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*; Brenda Bolton, "Advertise the Message: Images in Rome at the Turn of the Twelfth Century," *Studies in Church History* 28 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 117-30; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 63, 68, 69-73; 313, 322-329; Sible De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale: Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri 1* (Vatican City, 1994), 436-442; Parlato, "Le icone in processione"; Herbert Kessler and Johanna Zacharias, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Kirstin Noreen, "Revealing the Sacred: the Icon of Christ in the Sancta Sanctorum, Rome," *Word & Image* 22,3 (July-Sept, 2006): 228-237; Enrico Parlato, "La processione di Ferragosto e l'acheropita del Sancta Sanctorum," in *Imago Christi*, 51-63; Kirstin Noreen, "Sacred Memory and Confraternal Space: the Insignia of the Confraternity of the Santissimo Salvatore (Rome)," in *Roma Felix: Formation and Reflections of Medieval Rome*, ed. É.Ó. Carragáin and C. Neuman de Vegvar (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 159-187; Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous"; Kirstin Noreen, "Re-covering Christ in Late Medieval Rome: the Icon of Christ in the Sancta Sanctorum," *Gesta* 49, 2 (2010): 117-135.

When the new Marian feasts were established in Rome, Pope Sergius (687-701) decreed that they be celebrated with a ceremonial procession between Sant'Adriano (St Hadrian) in the Forum (former seat of the ancient Roman senate) and the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore.⁴⁶ Around this same time, the Lateran *Acheropita* image was already in use as an apotropaic device; it was carried in processions in times of crisis to protect the city against invasion.⁴⁷ After the establishment of the Assumption procession, it became a tradition to carry the *Acheropita* in this procession as well, giving rise to a distinctive processional rite replicated throughout Lazio in later centuries.

The *Acheropita* is first recorded as being carried in the Roman Assumption procession in the Life of Leo IV (847-55) in the *Liber Pontificalis* ("Book of the Popes"). According to this account the pope left the Lateran on foot with the other clergy and walked ahead of the image to Sant'Adriano. He sang praises to God and the Virgin as he left Sant'Adriano and made his way to the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore where he said mass.⁴⁸

A liturgical text from an early eleventh-century pontifical today at the abbey of Monte Cassino includes a more detailed description of the procession: after vespers, a litter is prepared at the Lateran for the *Acheropita* icon. After the Song of Songs and sermons are read, the image is placed on the litter. The procession departs from the Lateran at midnight and goes to the church of Santa Maria Nuova in the forum (now Santa Francesca Romana) where the image is

⁴⁶ See Life of Sergius I, *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1886-1902), 1:376 ("Constituit autem ut diebus Adnuntiationis Domini, Dormitionis et Nativitatis sanctae Dei genetricis semperque virginis Mariae, ac sancti Symeonis quod Ypopanti Greci appellant, letania exat a sancto Hadriano et ad sanctam Mariam populus occurrat").

⁴⁷ The *Liber Pontificalis* records that during the invasion of Rome by Lombards led by King Aistulf, Pope Stephen II (752-757) walked barefoot through the streets of Rome with the *Acheropita* on his shoulders from the Lateran to the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore (Life of Stephen II, *Liber Pontificalis*, 1:443). The protective function of the *Acheropita* is addressed in more detail in the next chapter.

⁴⁸ *Liber Pontificalis*, 2:110.

placed on the steps of the church. The faithful kneel before it, beating their breasts and reciting a hundred *Kyrie eleisons*, a hundred *Christe eleisons*, and once more a hundred *Kyries*. The concourse then continues to Sant'Adriano and finally to Sta. Maria Maggiore, where Mass is celebrated.⁴⁹

The text includes the hymn *Sancta Maria quid est?* sung during the procession's stop at Sta. Maria Nuova (*Incipit carmen in Assumptione sanctae Mariae, in nocte, quando tabula portatur*). The hymn speaks of the "sign" of the Lord on his throne, pausing with the Theotokos on hers as the people bring fragrant oils to anoint them.⁵⁰ In recent decades this hymn has been interpreted by a number of scholars, including Ernst Kitzinger,⁵¹ William Tronzo,⁵² Gerhard Wolf,⁵³ Sible de Blaauw,⁵⁴ Hans Belting,⁵⁵ and Herbert Kessler⁵⁶ as a reference to a meeting

⁴⁹ Ms. Casin. 451. This text was first published in 1689 by Jean Mabillon in *Museum italicum* II (Paris), f. 34. See also Michel Andrieu, ed., *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge* 5 (Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 1961), 358; and K. Strecker, ed., *Monumenta germaniae historica, poetarum latinorum medii aevi* 5 (Leipzig: Verlag K. W. Hiersemann, 1937-39), 466.

⁵⁰ *Les ordines romani*, 359-362. The hymn is thought to have been composed for Otto III at his visit to Rome in 1000. It is known from other manuscripts besides the Monte Cassino pontifical (see *Monumenta germaniae historica* 5, 465ff for other editions and discussion). According to Hans Belting in *Likeness and Presence*, "The hymn is arranged as a dialogue with a personification of the old Roma who mourns both her former glory and her former sins and hails the arrival of her new Dominus. Otto is comforted by the assurance that she [Roma] will be delivered by the Princes of the Apostles." The English translation in Belting is as follows: "Holy Virgin, what is happening today? When you reach the heavenly regions, be merciful to your own people... The Creator is no longer far away [says Roma]. For behold the face [vultus] that the mother's oracle seeks for the firstborn among men [the Romans]... The face of the Lord is there, to whom the earth is subject under the law... The splendid sign [spectabile] of the Lord on his throne-like plinth [solium] pauses [sistitur], as does the Theotokos on hers ("Sistitur in solio Domini spectabile signum, Theotocosque suo sistitur in soli.")... They bring thyme, incense, and myrrh... The Greek school of song intones its song, while the Roman people hum, using various melodies... Virgin Mary, look down in mercy on your children and hear your servants... The herd of the city weeps tears of supplication before you..." (Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 499-500).

⁵¹ Kitzinger, "A Virgin's Face," 17-19.

⁵² Tronzo, "Apse Decoration," 176.

⁵³ Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 56.

⁵⁴ De Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 439-440.

⁵⁵ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 72-73.

between the *Acheropita* and the early medieval *Hodegetria* icon kept in that church—a half-length image of the Virgin gesturing to the Christ Child whom she holds at her side.⁵⁷

Around the year 1100 canon Benedict described the Roman Assumption procession in his *Liber Politicus* in even more detail.

On the eve of Santa Maria, the Lord Pope with the cardinals, in bare feet, makes seven genuflections, opens the image and washes the feet of the Lord and uncovers its face, singing *Te Deum laudamus*, which was ordered by Pope Leo IV. On the day of the Assumption of Sta. Maria the pope with all the curia celebrates vespers, and the vigils of nine lessons in the church of S. Maria Maggiore. Afterward they return to the Lateran, and here the cardinals and deacons take the image of Jesus Christ from the chapel of S. Lorenzo, carrying it with all the people through the Campo Laterano near the basilica of S. Gregorio. The regionary carries the stational cross and after it walks the procession of all the curia, singing psalms; the *Primicerius* with the choir sings responses for the feast; the prefect with twelve men receives from the curia twelve torches, and the *ostiari* as many torches, which they carry lighted before the image. While this passes through the campo, the *Cubiculari* standing in a column at S. Gregorio hold two lit torches and after the sacred image has passed, extinguish them. Reaching the church of Sta. Maria Minor, they set it down before the same, and with basil wash its feet. And soon the choirs sing the Matins in the church, meaning three lessons. Then praising and blessing the Lord all the people go to S. Adriano, and here the feet are washed again. Exiting then from this church, returning along the same street from which they came, and carry the sacred image through the arch called “Sathana” because here anciently was a great infestation of the demon. Then they pass near the House of Orfeo, for reason of the basilisk, that then was hidden in the cavern that breathed on the men that passed there, making them sick: For this Pope Sergius instituted this procession so solemn, so that for the orations of the people so numerous and for intercession of the holy Virgin Maria with God, the Roman people were liberated from this persecution. From there they go to Sta. Maria and the pope prepares the mass and blesses the people, and he is tired as the people depart.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Kessler, *Rome 1300*, 94-96.

⁵⁷ Tronzo, however, argued that the church of *Santa Maria Minor*, spoken of in some versions of *ordo* and believed by most scholars to be S. Maria Nova in the forum, refers to the *Monasterium Tempuli* convent on the opposite side of the Caelian hill. Because of the lack of textual evidence for this, and because the location of the *Monasterium Tempuli* would have taken the procession far out of its way, I am skeptical of Tronzo’s argument. For more on the Sta. Maria Nova icon (often referred to as the Madonna of S. Maria Antiqua after the church on the other side of the forum in which it was originally housed it in the early Middle Ages): P. Cellini, “Una madonna molto antica,” *Proporzioni* 3 (1950): 1ff; Ernst Kitzinger, “On Some Icons of the Seventh Century,” in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), 132-150; C. Bertelli, “Icône di Roma,” in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes, Akten des 21 Internationalen Kunsthistoriker-Kongresses I* (Berlin: G. Mann, 1967): 100ff.

⁵⁸ From Canon Benedict’s *Liber Politicus*, copied in *Liber Censum*. See L. Duchesne and P. Fabre, eds., *Le Liber Censum de l’église romaine (Registres des papes du XIII siècle)* (Rome: De Boccard, 1910), 158-59.

By the early fourteenth century the role of the twelve *ostarii*, the custodians of the *Acheropita* recorded by canon Benedict, was beginning to be supplanted by the *Società dei Raccomandati del Salvatore*, the religious lay confraternity dedicated to the veneration and maintenance of the *Acheropita*, and the parent society of Tivoli's *Confraternita del Salvatore*. The Roman confraternity's statutes of 1331 specify that on the vigil of the Assumption, with lighted torches in hand, the members are to accompany the *Acheropita* image to the basilica of Sta Maria Maggiore and back again to the *Sancta Sanctorum* at the Lateran (*cum faculis accensis...in manibus et processionaliter clerici ac layci pariter...ante ipsam ymaginem Salvatoris eundo, quando in festo Assumptionis beate Marie virginis ipsa ymago defertur ad ecclesiam Sancte Marie Maioris et cum ad basilicam ad Sancta Sanctorum reportatur*).⁵⁹

The Confraternity's statutes of 1462 give a detailed description of the Assumption procession at that time: the people assemble at the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli on the Capitoline Hill where they pray before the specially-unveiled image of the *Madonna Avvocata*. They proceed to the Lateran where the *Acheropita* image, adorned in a new garment of gold, awaits them on its processional litter. The *Società dei Raccomandati* carries the icon to the nearby hospital of San Giovanni where priests wash its feet. The trade guilds present wax votive offerings to the image. The procession moves to the church of San Clemente where the image is washed and venerated amidst torchlight and music. Passing under the Arch of Titus, the procession then continues on to additional ritual stops where the icon is again washed: at Sta Maria Nuova, Santi Cosma e Damiano, where the women are granted access to the image, Sant'Adriano, and Sta. Prassede. Finally, in the early morning hours of August 15, the

⁵⁹ ASR, Ospedale del Salvatore, vol. 1009, f. 4. The text was published by Paola Pavan in "Gli statuti della Società dei Raccomandati del Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum (1331-1496)," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* (hereafter *ASRSP*) 101 (1978): 63.

procession arrives at Sta Maria Maggiore, where the *Acheropita* is placed on the altar and mass is celebrated. After the image has taken leave of the Virgin, it is brought back to its home in the Lateran.⁶⁰

The final section of the text that describes the Savior image taking leave of the Virgin hints that here at Sta Maria Maggiore there may have been a second ritual encounter between the *Acheropita* and an image of the Virgin, most likely the much-venerated image of the Madonna and Child known as the *Regina Caeli* (and from the nineteenth century *Salus Populi Romani*).⁶¹ Other evidence that such an encounter occurred appears as early as the twelfth century: referring to the *Salus Populi Romani* Lateran canon Johannes wrote that on the evening before the Assumption “the image of the Virgin began to stir as she does every year at this feast,” evidently to prepare herself for the meeting with the *Acheropita* (*[quidam iuvenis] ...vigilavit in ecclesia beate Marie maioris, et quousque ymago beate marie moveri cepit, sicut annis singulis in illa festivitate fieri solet, devotus in oratione permansit*).⁶²

More explicit evidence of a ritual function of the *Salus Populi Romani* at the feast of the Assumption is found in the late fifteenth-century records of the *Arciconfraternità del Gonfalone*, the society dedicated to the maintenance and veneration of the icon. An inventory lists golden

⁶⁰ ASR, Ospedale del Salvatore, vol. 1009, anno 1462 (ff. 3r-11v). For an English translation of the text, see Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 500-501.

⁶¹ For the *Salus Populi Romani* icon: F. de' Conti Fabi Montani, *Dell'antica immagine...nella basilica liberiana* (Rome: Belle Arti, 1861); Ernst von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899); Pico Cellini, *La Madonna di S. Luca in S. Maria Maggiore* (Rome: Istituto Grafico Tiberino, 1943); Hellmut Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes* (Munich: Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1962), 44ff; Maurice Dejonghe, *Les Madones couronnées de Rome* (Paris: P. Téqui, 1967), 201ff; Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 68-69; Kirstin Noreen, “The Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome: an Image and its Afterlife,” *Renaissance Studies* 19 (2005): 660-672.

⁶² Johannes Canonicus Lateranensis, *Epistula ad Vitellium* (August, 1170), published by A. Wilmart in *Revue Benedictine* 45 (1933): 75-78.

mantles donated to “the image of Santa Maria Maggiore,” by Pope Alexander VI at “the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary” in the years 1496, 1497, and 1498.⁶³

At the Assumption feast of 1496 the *Gonfalone* carried the processional tabernacle with the icon to its festival stand.⁶⁴ The next year, after the celebration the *Salus Populi Romani* remained open on continuous display for the Octave, under the watch of the *Gonfalone*.⁶⁵ In 1498 the image received a new gilded processional tabernacle fitted out with ropes and pulleys, presumably to facilitate the ritual “bow” to the Lateran *Acheropita* at the culmination of the Assumption procession.⁶⁶

In any case, it is certain that at least by the first decade of the sixteenth century a ritual greeting between the *Acheropita* and the *Salus Populi Romani* was performed at Sta. Maria Maggiore at the climax of the Assumption procession. According to Paris de Grassi’s “Book of Ceremonies,” the *Salus Populi Romani* was removed from her usual position above the door of the baptistery (in the fourteenth century she was given a tabernacle in the nave) and was displayed with the *Acheropita* icon in the apse. However, when the pope visited the basilica and the apse had to host the curia, the two images were placed opposite each other on the two pulpits

⁶³ Archivio Segreto Vaticano (hereafter ASV), Arciconfr. Gonfalone, 1218, f. 38v. The entry for the mantles was transcribed in Luigi Ruggeri, *L’archiconfraternita del Gonfalone* (Rome: Bernardo Morini, 1866), 336: “In nella ditta cassa uno palio de imbroccato de oro, di 4 canne, in seta pavonazza, con simbrie de zannato pavonazo et fodera de tela cilestra, donata [sic] per la Santità de N.S. papa Alexandro VI nella festa della Assumptione de la Vergine Maria del 1496, el quale se dona a li singori guardiani per la imagine de Santa Maria Maiure. Item un altro palio de imbroccato de oro, in seta bianca, con simbrie de zannato cilestro, con simili fornimenti, similiter donato de agosto 1497. Item un altro palio tucto simile, donato dal sopraditto papa, de agosto 1498.”

⁶⁴ ASV, Arciconf. Gonf., 1197, f. 63r.

⁶⁵ ASV, Arciconf. Gonf., 119, *Entrata et uscita. Liber Dominici de Pulicato anno 1497 confirmatus* [sic], f. 62r: “Per una chiave et seratura per la nostra cappella de sancta mari amaiore dove fo remessa la Imagine Inguardia...”

⁶⁶ ASV, Arciconf. Gonf., 120, *Entrata e Uscita* 1498, f. 73r. For critical discussion of the confraternity records, see Anna Esposito, “Le confraternite del Gonfalone (secoli XIV-XV),” *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5 (1984): 91-136; Sergio Pagano, *L’archivio dell’Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone: cenni storici e inventario* (Vatican City, 1990); Barbara Wisch, “Keys to Success: Propriety and Promotion of Miraculous Images by Roman Confraternities,” in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. Erik Thuno and Gerhard Wolf (Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider), 161-184.

of the *schola cantorum* (*Imagines Salvatoris et Virginis erant hinc inde in duabus cappellis* [pulpits] *ad latera chori; quae alias solebant esse in Tribuna, sed propter Cappellam dicta in die ibi esse non potuerunt...*).⁶⁷ In the next decade, Andrea Fulvio recorded in his 1527 *Antiquitates urbis* a description of the meeting between the two images. He wrote that the *Acheropita* image was brought to Sta. Maria Maggiore where it met an image of Mary, after which it stayed for the entire night in the basilica (“si conduce alla chiesa di Santa Maria Maggiore, & facendosegli incontro la immagine di Santa Maria Genitrice, per quella notte si ferma in quel luogo ove si sta la notte a dormire...”).⁶⁸

These texts, which document eight centuries of the Assumption procession’s history in Rome, reveal that liturgical tradition to be the prototype for Tivoli’s *Inchinata*, as well as the prototype for Assumption processions performed in a number of other cities in Lazio in the Middle Ages and early modern period (whose histories and ritual imagery I will treat in chapter six). Tivoli’s monumental panel painting of Christ Enthroned replicated the Lateran *Acheropita* image, considered by scholars to be the oldest panel painting of Christ in Rome. While little remains of the painted surface of the *Acheropita* today besides the head, when Joseph Wilpert examined it in 1907 he described a frontal figure of Christ Enthroned with his right hand raised in a “speaking gesture” and his left hand holding a scroll.⁶⁹ And Tivoli’s *Inchinata*, which carries the *Trittico del Salvatore* out of the cathedral in procession around the city on a great litter, making a ritual stop at a hospital where the image’s feet are washed, and culminating at the city’s

⁶⁷ Paris de Grassi, “Book of Ceremonies,” September 8, 1504, BAV, Cod. Chigi L I 17, ff. 98-100v. The text was published by Wolf in *Salus Populi Romani* (339).

⁶⁸ *Opera di Andrea Fulvio delle antichità della Città di Roma & delli edifici memorabili di quella. Tradotta nuovamente di Latino in lingua toscana, per Paulo dal Rosso cittadino Fiorentino* (Venice, 1543), f. 69r.

⁶⁹ Joseph Wilpert, “L’acheropita ossia l’immagine del Salvatore nella Cappella del Sancta Sanctorum,” *L’Arte* 10 (1907): 167-177, 246-262.

principle Marian church for a ritual greeting with an image of Mary, was also inspired by the much older Assumption procession in the *Urbs*.

The processions in the two cities were not identical, however. For one thing, the intercessory iconography of Tivoli's *Madonna delle Grazie* icon contrasts with the Virgin and Child iconography of the two Marian images that according to the available evidence were most likely used in ritual "greetings" during Rome's Assumption procession. I will address the matter of Marian iconography in chapters five and six. Additionally, Tivoli's *Inchinata* was adapted to the city's local history and topography and functioned as a symbol of communal identity within a climate of perennial tensions with the papacy and nobility of Rome and neighboring communes like Subiaco between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. I will return to this matter later in this chapter and again in chapter three.

2.6 THE ORIGINS OF THE *INCHINATA* PROCESSION IN TIVOLI

As discussed earlier, the first textual reference to an Assumption procession in Tivoli is contained in the city statutes of 1305. However, it seems from the text's matter-of-fact tone of the civic regulations relating to the procession that by then it was already a routine practice. This raises the question of when exactly the procession started. While there is no definitive answer there are a number of clues that the procession originated long before 1305, possibly as early as the twelfth century, and that it was an export from Rome as part of a campaign of papal propaganda.

The most obvious argument that Tivoli's Savior triptych had an early function as a processional image for the Assumption is that its prototype, the Lateran *Acheropita*, had that

precise function from at least the ninth century. Some of the most persuasive hints at a twelfth-century origination date for the *Inchinata* procession, however, are found in the material evidence of the *Trittico del Salvatore* itself. The consensus among most scholars is that the triptych dates from the early to mid twelfth century⁷⁰ or the end of the eleventh.⁷¹ These datings are based on stylistic and iconographic evidence. Close stylistic relationships have been observed between the Tivoli triptych and a Last Judgment panel at the Vatican Museums (1061-71), in wall frescoes in the lower church of San Clemente in Rome (c. 1080), in San Nicola in Carcere in Rome (c. 1128), in the church of the Madonna or “dell’Immacolata” in Ceri (twelfth century), and in Sant’Anastasia in Castel Sant’Elia (twelfth century). Additionally, already by the late eleventh century there was an interest at the Lateran in artistically replicating the *Acheropita* icon with accompanying *Madonna Avvocata* imagery, as is demonstrated in a wall fresco in the oratory of San Sebastiano beneath the *Sancta Sanctorum*. This fresco, on the west side of a pier, survives as a fragment which reveals the top half of a figure of Christ making a gesture of blessing with his right hand. Thanks to an old drawing (Barb. lat. 6555, f. 5) we know that this *Cristo benedicente* was once flanked on the left by a full-length figure of the Virgin in a posture of intercession, her arms raised at her side toward Christ.⁷²

⁷⁰ Joseph Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien* II (Freiburg: Herder, 1917), 1117-18; Vincenzo Pacifici, “L’immagine del Salvatore di Tivoli,” BSSAT (Oct, 1919): 150; Volbach, “Il cristo di Sutri,” 108-110; E.B. Garrison, “The Christ Enthroned at Casape with Notes on the Earlier Roman Redeemer Panels,” *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Painting* 11 (Florence: L’Impronta, 1955-56), 14; Charalampidis, “Soul of the Theotokos,” 142; Ferruti, “La cattedrale di San Lorenzo a Tivoli,” 137; Zchomelidse, “The Aura of the Numinous,” 234-235.

⁷¹ F. Hermanin, *L’arte in Roma dal secolo VIII al XIV* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1945), 149, 242-243; Pietro Toesca, *Storia dell’arte italiana. Il medioevo* (Turin: UTET, 1927), 939-30, 1025, note 10; Kessler, “The Acheropita triptych in Tivoli,” 122-123.

⁷² For a discussion of the Christ fresco and the lost image of the interceding Virgin, see Jérôme Croisier, “La decorazione pittorica dei sotterranei del Sancta Sanctorum, secondo-terzo decennio del XII secolo,” in *Riforma e Tradizione*, 1050-1198, ed. Serena Romano (Rome: Jaca book, 2006), 224 and fig. 35.5.

The iconography of the Tivoli Savior triptych, with multiple theological references to the Virgin's Assumption, suggests that the work was made with the feast of the Assumption in mind. This is most obvious in the narrative scene depicting the Dormition/Assumption of the Virgin on the bottom of the left wing. Also, the theme of intercession was a central tenet of medieval Assumption theology (a connection which will be discussed in more detail in chapters three and five), and this theme is featured prominently in several ways in the triptych. It is conveyed by the supplicatory gesture of the Virgin in the *deesis*, by the inscription on Christ's book, *Qui sequitur me non ambulat in tenebris set abebit lumen vite in eternum*, by the two stags below Christ's feet drinking from the four rivers which represent the four Gospels and the message of Christ's redeeming grace, and by the narrative scene on the bottom of the left panel with John preaching, which evokes the apocryphal sermon the evangelist gave at his grave toward the end of his ministry. In this sermon he declares,

For thou alone, O Lord, art the root of immortality and the fount of incorruption and the ages, who now are called all these things on our account, that calling on thee through them we may know thy greatness, which at the present is invisible to us, but visible only to the pure as it is portrayed in thy manhood only.⁷³

A number of other medieval replicas of the Lateran *Acheropita* in Lazio, where Assumption processions in which these panel paintings were ritually carried are recorded in medieval documents,⁷⁴ contain iconography consistent with themes of the Assumption. A *deesis* is featured in the triptychs in Viterbo, Trevignano, and Anagni. The exterior of the Bracciano triptych presents a monumental scene of the Virgin's Assumption. The widespread existence of this iconography within the family of Lazio Savior panels inspired by the *Acheropita*, and the

⁷³ See Kessler, "The Acheropita Triptych in Tivoli," 120.

⁷⁴ This documentation is examined in chapter six.

fact that a number of these panels were known to have been carried in Assumption processions in the Middle Ages, hints at their original conception as ritual images for these festivities. Further evidence of this is offered by another medieval replica of the Lateran *Acheropita* in Lazio, the early thirteenth-century wooden relief panel in Castelchiodato (just a few miles from Tivoli), which depicts Christ Enthroned with two women washing and anointing the figure of Christ, one at his head and one kneeling at his feet. This imagery may be a reference to the contemporary ritual washings and anointings of the Lateran *Acheropita*, and even of the Castelchiodato panel itself in its own local celebrations. Nino Zchomelidse observes about the panel, “By means of the two female figure washing Christ’s feet (John 12:3) while the other anoints his head (Matt. 26:6-7; Macc. 14:3), the historical events that took place just before the Savior’s arrest and Passion and the contemporary ritual of cleaning and purification are visually reconnected to the icon.”⁷⁵ The parallels between the iconography of the Castelchiodato panel and contemporary rituals with the Lateran image, therefore, suggest that not just the cult of Rome’s *Acheropita* but also the replication of its ceremonial functions had spread through Lazio by at least the early thirteenth century.

In addition to the iconographic evidence, there are remnants of a medieval ceremonial covering on the Tivoli triptych. In 1919 Tivoli’s superintendent of monuments Silla Rosa de Angelis conducted a scientific examination of the Savior triptych and its current metal covering of 1449 and found traces of an older one.⁷⁶ De Angelis believed the original covering was

⁷⁵ Zchomelidse, “The Aura of the Numinous,” 243.

⁷⁶ Silla Rosa de Angelis, “L’immagine del Salvatore di Tivoli,” *BSSAT* (October 1919): 150-154. In 1919 the triptych’s 1449 silver cladding was nailed directly onto the painting, covering it permanently instead of being applied temporarily on ceremonial occasions as it is today. When the 1449 cover was removed, De Angelis observed on the wood of the central panel the outline of a previous set of nail holes, in some of which were detected fragments of old silver. Additionally, traces of silver dust had penetrated through the joints of the plates of what must have been an earlier covering, leaving their outline on the wood beneath, a pattern distinct from similar traces left behind by the later 1449 plates. Furthermore, the examination revealed that pieces of older silver plates,

probably made for the icon at the dedication of its new chapel in the duomo in 1224. While there is no textual evidence to confirm this, this date would make sense in light of the fact that the Lateran *Acheropita* had received *its* ceremonial covering just eight years earlier. It seems Tivoli moved quickly to imitate the recent intervention in Rome. If Tivoli's Savior triptych did indeed receive its original covering in the early thirteenth century, that suggests that the image had a ceremonial or processional function at least by that time.⁷⁷

Historical factors, too, point to the emergence of Tivoli's *Inchinata* procession—and liturgical celebrations like it throughout Lazio at the feast of the Assumption—as early as the twelfth century. The tradition likely had its roots in the period of church reform and renewal that began with the investiture conflict and so-called Gregorian Reform at the end of the eleventh century. This reform movement prompted papal campaigns to exert greater control over the Papal States, especially in Lazio, its stronghold, where tensions were fomenting with the emerging municipal governments of secularizing cities and towns. These campaigns emphasized greater papal presence through synods and summer residences and the “monarchical” reorganization and strengthening of the episcopacies, which served as the pillars of the pope's ecclesiastical and political power in the territory.⁷⁸

presumably from the original cover, had been used in making the new cover. These remnants of earlier plates with a motif of six-pointed stars were found beneath the field of stars that make up the background for the figure of Christ, beneath a plate on the right side panel, and in the half dome above. The latest restoration project of the triptych's silver covering was undertaken in 1992: see Marcelli, “Restauro del ‘Trittico del Salvatore’”; Bernardini, “La coperta argentea del Trittico del SS. Salvatore,” Ferretti, *et al*, “Studio della composizione delle lamine metalliche; and Marcelli *et al*, “Il restauro del rivestimento argenteo del ‘Trittico del SS. Salvatore’.”

⁷⁷ Traces of the older silver cover have only been found on the central panel of the triptych, so it seems that prior to 1449 the two wings with the figures of the Virgin and St John and the two narrative scenes beneath them would have been visible during the August procession.

⁷⁸ Belting, “Icons and Roman Society in the Twelfth Century,” 37-38; and Franklin Toker, *On Holy Ground: Liturgy, Architecture and Urbanism in the Cathedral and the Streets of Medieval Florence I* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 119-147.

Brenda Bolton has written extensively, for example, on Innocent III's (1198-1216) energetic and highly-organized program to return the Papal States to the sphere of church influence.⁷⁹ Innocent sought to establish "a unified region with its own special identity and purpose, having strong links with the church." The region of central Italy was intended "to be one 'Italia' and in its creation the towns of the area were to be set apart as particular agents of the pope."⁸⁰ Innocent frequently used Psalm 127 ("Except the Lord build the house they labour in vain that build it. Except the Lord keep the City, the watchman waketh but in vain") as the favored subject for his circuit-sermons in the papal territories. Additionally, he sent rectors—both clerical and lay—to represent him in the communes, and required an oath of obedience from his bishops.

One way these bishops and their cathedral canons asserted their presence and authority in the communes of central Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was through religious processions. It has already been suggested by several scholars that the dissemination through Lazio of the cult of the Lateran *Acheropita* and the principal religious celebration this image served—the Assumption procession—probably occurred under just such circumstances. According to Bolton, the papacy wished to unify its subjects throughout the patrimony "by bringing them together in a particularly 'Roman' ceremony."⁸¹ The ceremony she refers to is a procession on the vigil of the Assumption, modeled on that of Rome, in which replicas of the *Acheropita* were ritually carried to a symbolic meeting with the Virgin. Hans Belting has written about this phenomenon in terms of its theological significance: "the episcopal curia staged the

⁷⁹ Bolton, "'Except the Lord keep the city': Towns in the Papal States at the Turn of the Twelfth Century," in *Church and City 1000-1500. Essays in Honor of Christopher Brooke*, eds. David Abulafia, Michael Franklin, and Miri Rubin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 199-218.

⁸⁰ Bolton, "'Except the Lord keep the city'," 202.

⁸¹ Bolton, "'Except the Lord keep the city'," 214.

continuing participation of the people in the life of the church in terms of the metaphor of a symbolic marriage, with Christ acting as bridegroom and Lord, the Virgin acting as bride and lawyer—advocate of the people—both in icons and in the August procession rites.”⁸² The fact that most of the surviving medieval *Acheropita* replicas in the episcopal cities of Lazio are housed at the bishop’s seat—the cathedral—supports this model of episcopal involvement. Sible de Blaauw’s work on the processional practices in twelfth-century Rome strengthens this model. De Blaauw has demonstrated that Rome experienced a flowering of processional liturgy in this period, starting in the early reform years (late eleventh century).⁸³ So it seems this re-invigorated vehicle of papal presence in Rome was then exported into the surrounding territory and used as a tool to regularize liturgical practice, serve as a reminder of papal/episcopal hegemony, and facilitate loyalty to the church in a period of rapidly developing urban culture and secularization.

Tivoli makes an interesting case-study of this phenomenon. Around the early twelfth century the city established an independent communal government⁸⁴ and flexed its political and military muscle in on-going clashes with Rome. Located at the mouth of the Anio river valley and controlling the trade route to Abruzzo through the Apennine Mountains, Tivoli was a particularly strategic city in Lazio. According to Sandro Carocci scholar of Tivoli’s medieval political and economic history, “Tivoli’s campaign of expansion [over the territories to the west,

⁸² Belting, “Icons and Roman Society,” 38.

⁸³ Sible De Blaauw, “Contrasts in Processional Liturgy. A Typology of Outdoor Processions in Twelfth-Century Rome,” *Art, cérémonial et liturgie au moyen âge* (Rome: Viella, 2002), 357-394.

⁸⁴ Already in 1126, a document at the abbey of Subiaco records that Tivoli operated under the direction of a *rector*, who functioned like a mayor (R. Morghen, ed., *Chronicon sublacense* [Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1927], 20). In 1143 the *rector*, Teobaldo, convoked a public assembly (*pubblica contio*) to discuss some repairs to the city walls. In the same year a *mandatarius* is recorded as representative of the *populus tiburtinus* (from a legal document copied in 1535 by Antonio Petrarca; see ACT, *Codice diplomatico di Tivoli di Antonio di Simone Petrarca*, f. 45). In 1143 after Rome defeated Tivoli, the papacy reserved for itself the right to appoint the *rector* or *comitatus Tyburis* (*comitatum quoque et rectoriam eiusdem civitatis tiburtine*) (Fabre and Duchesne, *Liber censuum*, I: 415). For further discussion of the early records and structure of Tivoli’s first communal government, see Carocci, *Tivoli nel basso medioevo*, 87-108.

particularly Subiaco] excited the hostilities of the Romans and especially the papacy, which feared the growing strength of a city strategic for Rome's control of the region and often hostile to the popes."⁸⁵ After continuous clashes with its upstart neighbor, Rome subdued Tivoli in 1143, and the right to appoint the *rectore*—or principle civic magistrate—was claimed first by the papacy and then by the Roman senate. However, Tivoli continued to resist the imposition of Roman authority and allied itself with the Holy Roman Empire, placing itself under the protection of Frederick Barbarossa, for whom Tivoli became a stronghold in Lazio, and then Henry VI. Open conflict between the two cities continued until 1253 when Rome defeated Tivoli. However, even then relations continued with an uneasy tension. Rome retained the right to appoint the *rectore*, but the official's power was greatly limited. The *caputmilite*, or chief judge appointed by the Tiburtini, remained the supreme political figure.⁸⁶

Given this context, the papacy would have had good reason to try to maximize its ecclesiastical influence in Tivoli via episcopal allegiance and Romanized liturgical practices that called on the participation of the entire population. Though often at war with Rome, Tivoli was still subject to its powerful sphere of cultural, artistic, and religious influences. The introduction into Tivoli in the twelfth century of one of Rome's most important annual liturgical events—the Assumption procession—and a copy of the famed Roman image meant to serve it, is consistent with the phenomenon of *imitatio romae* that was at work at this time in the cities and towns throughout Lazio.

⁸⁵ Carocci, *Tivoli nel basso medioevo*, 30.

⁸⁶ Carocci, *Tivoli nel basso medioevo*, 29-32.

Gerhard Wolf⁸⁷ and, more recently, Nino Zchomelidse have proposed that the emergence of the medieval replicas of the Lateran *Acheropita* in cities throughout Lazio had a civic impetus. Zchomelidse observed that the phenomenon was “related to the Lateran icon’s status as a civic symbol and protector in the context of the revival of communal institutions in Rome,” most notably its municipal senate, resurrected in 1143.⁸⁸ However, while the Lateran *Acheropita* unquestionably functioned as an apotropaic *palladium* (protector) of Rome from the early Middle Ages, we must consider that Tivoli’s *Trittico del Salvatore* was made between the late eleventh and early twelfth century and therefore predates the re-founding of the Roman senate by as much as a half century (moreover, Tivoli established its communal government *before* Rome did, making it the leader, not the follower in this regard). The *Trittico del Salvatore* may have been made before the Lateran *Acheropita* came to have strong civic symbolism in Rome. The cult of the Tiburtine Savior, therefore, likely emerged initially in conjunction with papal propaganda, although the icon quickly took on strong civic associations. On the other hand, it is instructive to consider Wolf’s and Zchomelidse’s model for the Laziale Savior panels made after the mid twelfth century. These works were conceived within a period and cultural milieu more strongly influenced by the on-going civic developments in Rome, whereas the late eleventh/early twelfth century was still very much characterized by papal and episcopal reforms and assertions of power.

⁸⁷ Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 33, 73-76, 79-80.

⁸⁸ Zchomelidse, “The Aura of the Numinous,” 238.

2.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the liturgical model for and the documentary and material record of Tivoli's *Inchinata* procession, focusing on establishing the dating and circumstances of its origins in the Middle Ages and its continuous practice up to the present day. The following chapters will examine the textual, physical, and iconographic evidence in more detail. I will analyze this evidence within its contemporary historical context in order to reconstruct and interpret the performative practices, theological meaning, and civic function of the medieval and early modern procession and its ritual imagery. I will demonstrate that while the *Inchinata* likely originated in the reform-era papal campaigns to regulate liturgical practices and emphasize episcopal authority in the region, it transformed into an expression of civic identity that was adapted to local topography and traditions. It was not merely a mechanical imitation of a Roman ceremony.

3.0 CIVIC LANDSCAPE, SACRED JOURNEY: THE PERFORMED GEOGRAPHY OF THE *INCHINATA* AND CONSTRUCTION OF A RITUAL NARRATIVE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Virtually all of the existing literature on Tivoli's *Trittico del Salvatore* treats the image from a formal perspective, examining its material composition, painting style, and iconography. These are valuable studies for dating the image and understanding its theological content. This chapter and the next will expand on this body of scholarship by analyzing the ritual function of the panel.

In his recent volume *City and Cosmos: the Medieval World in Urban Form* Keith D. Lilley observed that,

Apart from some antiquarian studies, relatively few have written about routes and locales of medieval civic rituals...The tendency is instead to focus on the narrative content and meanings of performances rather than where they were taking place and what significance these places may have had for participants. Urban space was not neutral or inert. It carries and constructs social and cultural meanings, so it seems appropriate to consider where processions went in the city: which streets or lanes they followed, which marketplaces and churches they stopped at, and so on, for these were not chosen without thought, and in themselves offer insight into the symbolism of the processions themselves. ...these "processional routes were the clearest maps to the significant power structures within a community, since they are always deliberately designed with references to places that are important." It is perhaps surprising then that the performed geographies of processions and their meanings have been so overlooked.⁸⁹

In these two chapters I aim to address the very problems raised by Lilley by constructing a model of "performed geography" for Tivoli's medieval *Inchinata* procession.

⁸⁹ Keith D. Lilley, *City and Cosmos: the Medieval World in Urban Form* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), 164.

In this chapter I will demonstrate that the image had an apotropaic significance in the procession and in this role served as a civic symbol for the commune. Carried through the city as a type of *palladium*—a supernatural protective device—the image safeguarded the city from physical and spiritual dangers. I will argue that the apotropaic function of the *Trittico del Salvatore* was location-specific; the image’s power derived from its interaction with the city’s unique topography and historical monuments. My methodology applies paradigms of contemporary processional practices to an examination of Tivoli’s primary textual sources, archaeological studies, and historical maps. My objective is to reconstruct the route and topography of the medieval *Inchinata* procession and to illuminate the meaning of the Savior icon’s “journey” through this civic and sacred landscape.

The chapter is divided into three sections. In the first, I will establish a historical precedence for the *Inchinata* by addressing other cases of medieval processions in Europe—in central Italy most especially—in which sacred icons or relics were ritually carried in procession as an act of protection for the city or community and its inhabitants. In the second section I will suggest how these case-studies can inform our understanding of how Tivoli’s *Inchinata* was performed and demonstrate how these clues give meaning to that performance in ways that have never been considered or that have been treated only superficially. In the third and final section I will compare and contrast the medieval Assumption procession routes of Tivoli and Rome and suggest historical and political explanations for the differences we find. These conclusions shed light on processes of urban development and communal identity in central Italy in the later Middle Ages.

3.2 BACKGROUND: PROCESSIONAL PRACTICES AND ICONS AS CIVIC *PALLADIA*

The use of images as civic protective devices in times of crisis in both western Europe and Byzantium is documented from the early Middle Ages. The earliest records of the Lateran *Acheropita* describe the Roman image as functioning in this capacity. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the *Liber Pontificalis* records that during the invasion of Rome by Lombards led by King Aistulf, Pope Stephen II (752-757) walked barefoot through the streets of Rome with the *Acheropita* on his shoulders from the Lateran to the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore.⁹⁰ Similarly, during the pontificate of Leo IV (847-855) the *Acheropita* defeated a plague-bearing basilisk when it was carried one year in the Assumption procession.⁹¹ Two centuries earlier, in anticipation of the Avar siege of Constantinople in 626, Patriarch Sergius had images of the Virgin affixed to the city gates.⁹² During the siege he carried either an icon of the Virgin or the miraculous *Kamuliana* image of Christ (depending on the textual source) in a procession along the city walls.⁹³ Similarly, during the Arab siege of 717-718, Patriarch Germanus organized a procession on the walls with an image of the Virgin.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, 1:443. An English version can be read in Raymond Davis, trans., *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), 56.

⁹¹ *Liber Pontificalis* 2:110. For an English translation: Davis, trans., *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995), 118-119.

⁹² This detail was recorded in a contemporary account of the event written as a sermon by Theodore Synkellos. See Bissera V. Pentcheva, "The Supernatural Protector of Constantinople: the Virgin and Her Icons in the Tradition of the Avar Siege," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002): 11.

⁹³ For a critical discussion of the sources: E. von Dobschutz, "Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende," *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 18 (Leipzig, 1899) 53-54, 131-134; Paul Speck, "The Virgin's Help for Constantinople," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 27 (2003) 266-171; Pentcheva, "The supernatural protector of Constantinople," 2-41; and Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: the Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 41.

⁹⁴ See Paul Speck, "Der Brief Papst Gregors II. an den Patriarchen Germanos," appendix II of *Artabasdos, der rechthgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren. Untersuchungen zur Revolte des Artabasdos und ihrer Darstellung in der byzantinischen Historiographie* (Bonn: Habelt, 1981), 155-178.

It is interesting that the Byzantine textual sources specify that the images *were affixed to the city gates and carried along the city walls*. These particular ritual uses of sacred objects with supernatural powers in times of danger or invocations for divine protection were an enduring urban tradition that continued into the later Middle Ages. For example, the fourteenth-century *Synopsis* of John Lazaropoulos recorded that during the Turkish siege of Trebizond (1205-06) emperor Alexios Komnenos walked along the city walls weeping and entreating Mary and St Eugenios while the archbishop accompanied him with an icon of the Virgin, the *Hodegetria* Chrysokephalos (a miraculous replica of Constantinople's *Hodegetria*), and the abbot of the monastery carried the head of St Eugenios.⁹⁵ Such traditions were also practiced in the Latin West. In 1060 the citizens of Amiens organized a procession around the city walls with the relics of St Honoré to end a draught.⁹⁶ In northeastern Italy, after the city of Vicenza expelled from power the tyrannical da Romano feudal dynasty, its statutes of 1262 decreed that images of the Virgin be placed over the five gates of the city in a "visible declaration of orthodoxy,"⁹⁷ as well as possibly an invocation of the Virgin's defensive powers against future impious oppression. Similarly, at Conques the monks of Sainte Foi processionally carried a bust reliquary representing the titular saint from the abbey church that housed it into the surrounding countryside to mark out churches and properties as possessions of the monastery. St Foy's

⁹⁵ Alexei Lidov, "The Flying Hodegetria: the Miraculous Icon as Bearer of Sacred Space," in *The Miraculous Image in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 292.

⁹⁶ M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, "Portals, Processions, Pilgrimage, and Piety: Saints Firmin and Honoré at Amiens," in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*, eds. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 230-231.

⁹⁷ Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: the Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125-1325* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 122.

processional itinerary to these sites ritually sacralized them and put them under her protection.⁹⁸

“The corporal presence of the saint, in the form of her venerated relics, promised a guarantee against usurpation, making any trespass on her property a sacrilege.”⁹⁹ According to St Foy’s hagiographical texts those who did try to wickedly challenge her protection of the monastery’s possessions met with a violent end.¹⁰⁰

Similarly, in terms of ritual demarcation and unification of civic space, throughout Europe Rogation Day processions (*rogare* = “to ask” in Latin) were performed in which the people circled cities and towns, reciting litanies, penitential hymns and prayers, and supplicating God to protect them from outside enemies and bless the crops.¹⁰¹ In the rogations, “recitation of benedictions at cardinal points reoriented communal life with its invisible sacred pivots, reharmonizing the community with biocosmic rhythms.”¹⁰²

The routes of medieval rogation processions have been documented in cities around Italy. These processions carefully included all parts of the city, sanctifying the community and mapping its sacred geography. In Bologna during the rogation litanies on the feast day of St Mark, the procession circled the city walls, stopping at the four principal gates at which the

⁹⁸ Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, “Sainte Foy on the Loose, or, the Possibilities of Procession,” in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Huskin (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 60-61.

⁹⁹ Bernhard Töpfer, “The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the Time of the Monastic Reform,” in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Responses in France Around the Year 1000*, eds. T. Head and R. Landes (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 55.

¹⁰⁰ Ashley and Sheingorn, “Sainte Foy on the Loose,” 61-62.

¹⁰¹ Thompson, *Cities of God*, 153-156; and Roger E. Reynolds, “The Drama of Medieval Liturgical Processions,” *Revue de Musicologie* T. 86e, no. 1er (2000): 138.

¹⁰² Thomas Boogaart, “Our Savior’s Blood: Procession and Community in Late Medieval Bruges,” in *Moving Subjects*, 76.

bishop chanted a Gospel incipit toward the respective cardinal direction.¹⁰³ Similar rituals are documented in Pisa, Volterra and Verona.¹⁰⁴ Not surprisingly, because of the similarities in their conception and purpose as intercessory or supplicatory acts, Italian civic processions imploring divine intercession during adversity took a similar form to the rogations. It seems likely, therefore, that a circular route around the city was employed in the 1261 triumphal procession in Siena in which the city carried an image of the Virgin and gave thanks to her for helping defeat the Florentine army in the famous Battle of Montaperti after the citizens invoked her intercession (the carrying of the icon in this procession is depicted in a miniature in Niccolò di Giovanni Ventura's 1442 chronicle of the events surrounding the battle). After 1261 this icon was also carried in Sienese rogation processions and, according to Augustine Thompson, "Victory and rogations would always be linked at Siena."¹⁰⁵

Robert Davidsohn, Richard Trexler, and Franklin Toker have illuminated similar processional practices and use of civic space in medieval and early modern Florence. Every year on February 5, the feast day of St Agatha, an image of that saint, now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, was carried around the city to ward off fires.¹⁰⁶ The circular nature of that procession is described in the thirteenth-century liturgical text from the Duomo, *Mores et consuetudines ecclesiae Florentinae*.¹⁰⁷ The text specifies that from the Duomo, the procession "proceeds to

¹⁰³ Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 1785, Rolando the Deacon, *Liber de Ordine Officiorum*, ff. 44r-v.

¹⁰⁴ See Thompson, *Cities of God*, 156.

¹⁰⁵ Thompson, *Cities of God*, 160. For a detailed discussion of the Sienese victory over Florence and the ritual imagery and processional traditions related to it, see Bram Kempers, "Icons, Altarpieces, and Civic Ritual in Siena Cathedral, 1100-1530," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, eds. Barbara A. Hanawalk and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 89-136.

¹⁰⁶ Toker, *On Holy Ground*, 137-38; and Robert Davidsohn, *Storia di Firenze I* (Florence: Sansoni, 1907-1909), 1070-1071.

¹⁰⁷ *Mores*, lines 315-28. Toker includes the entire text for the procession and analytical commentary (*On Holy Ground*, 137-38).

make a circuit of the city” with “the image of St Agatha preceding us through the streets.”

Following the general outline of the city walls, the procession stops at four key boundary points of the city where gospels are sung.¹⁰⁸ The circuit of this procession is mapped out by Toker in his recent volume *On Holy Ground: Liturgy, Architecture and Urbanism in the Cathedral and the Streets of Medieval Florence*.¹⁰⁹ Toker emphasizes the significance of the route, which encompasses and binds the city, observing that,

As in the Rogationtide processions, clear emphasis is made of the cosmic sense of the routes: east, south, west, and north, but now in a clockwise rather than cross-shaped sequence... What made the St Agatha procession a truly public and urban ritual was its expansion to touch the easternmost and westernmost apices of the city walls that had gone up a half-century before, and its inclusion of the Ponte alla Carraia, a bridge that was barely a decade old when the procession passed over it.¹¹⁰

The other great apotropaic icon used in medieval Florence was an image of the Virgin, “Our Lady of Impruneta.”¹¹¹ In the fourteenth century this image was brought in procession from the town of Impruneta into Florence to invoke divine intervention for rain. This procession made a full circuit of the city walls. Richard Trexler articulated the key insight that the intercessory power of the Madonna di Impruneta was only effective when she was brought *outside*: out of her home in the suburban church of nearby Impruneta and into the city to be paraded publicly. Trexler remarks that, “It was in the procession, in motion, and not in any enclosed sacred place

¹⁰⁸ The S. Pietro gate, the piazza on the far side of Ponte Vecchio in Oltrarno, at the Ponte alla Carraia on the north side of the Arno, and the S. Giovanni gate.

¹⁰⁹ Toker, *On Holy Ground*, 124, fig. 40.

¹¹⁰ Toker, *On Holy Ground*, 138.

¹¹¹ See Toker, *On Holy Ground*, 146; and Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 63-73.

that she performed.”¹¹² This phenomenon of outdoor public spectacle for which the entire city became the stage is a key element in the apotropaic function of processional images. A closer look at the topography of this urban “stage set” provides further insights into the meaning of the processions in their contemporary context.

In his analysis of the Roman and medieval topography of Florence and reconstructions of that city’s procession routes, Toker observed that the routes incorporated topography that evoked the city’s ancient Roman and Early Christian past. For example, the processions frequently used the streets that had once been the Roman thoroughfares of the *cardo maximus* (today’s Via Roma/Via Por Santa Maria) and the *decumanus* (today’s Via del Corso); parts of the procession routes traced what once had been the Roman walls; and the inclusion of the church of *Sant’ Andrea in foro veteris* in some processions routes recalled the Roman forum that once existed on that site.¹¹³ Additionally, the very act of ritual circumambulation performed in rogation processions or in times of special need (e.g. to ward off fire or invoke rain), derived from the Roman *robigalia*, a ritual procession performed to protect the fields during the annual agricultural festival.¹¹⁴

While it is unclear whether the medieval evocation of Roman Florence via the ritual use of urban topography was conscious or unconscious, a reconnection with the city’s Early Christian past seems to have been unequivocally deliberate: in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, columns were erected around the city to mark cult sites relating to Early Christian

¹¹² Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 63.

¹¹³ Toker, *On Holy Ground*, 130 and fig. 40.

¹¹⁴ Toker, *On Holy Ground*, 137; and Enrico Parlato, “Le icone in processione,” 70.

history, including at the baptistery of San Giovanni and the churches of San Lorenzo, Santa Felicità, and Sant' Ambrogio—all sites which factored prominently in medieval processions.¹¹⁵

3.3 THE URBAN TOPOGRAPHY OF TIVOLI'S *INCHINATA* PROCESSION AND THE APOTROPAIC FUNCTION OF THE *TRITTICO DEL SALVATORE*

A consideration of these processional traditions and practices in Byzantium, northern Europe, and Italy can offer clues about the route of Tivoli's *Inchinata* procession in the Middle Ages and suggest what that route signified in its contemporary topography and historical context. By extension, it can also offer insights into the conception and function of the *Trittico del Salvatore* during its journey through the city.

As explained in chapter two, the *Inchinata* in Tivoli today [fig 8] begins at the Duomo of S. Lorenzo in the *contrada*, or neighborhood, of San Paolo in the city's medieval center. The *Trittico del Salvatore*, housed inside that church, is carried along the northwest boundary of the city along the path of the now-destroyed city walls and crosses Piazza Rivarola, entering the northern *contrada* of Castrovetero. It makes its first ritual stop (the *benedizione delle acque*) in the center of Ponte Gregoriano. The procession then retreats from the bridge and continues southeast, parallel to the Anio, entering the *contrada* of Trevio. The procession reaches the southeast corner of the city at the church and hospital of S. Giovanni Evangelista, where the second ritual ceremony with the icon takes place (the *sosta di preghiera e penitenza*). The route then advances in a northwestern direction, into the *contrada* of Santa Croce and the procession's destination, Piazza Trento. Here, the culminating bowing ritual with the *Madonna delle Grazie* takes place in front of the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore at the western edge of the historic city.

¹¹⁵ Toker, *On Holy Ground*, 130-31.

The next morning, Assumption Day, mass is celebrated at Sta. Maria Maggiore, the bowing ritual between the icons is repeated, and the Savior triptych is brought back to its home in the Duomo.

As is clear from this itinerary, today's procession incorporates all four historic *contrade* of the city: San Paolo, Castrovetere, Trevio, and Santa Croce. These four districts were established in the Middle Ages. A section of the city statutes of 1305 (*Divisio contradarum Tyburtine civitatis capitulum*) mentions them by name and describes in detail their topographical boundaries.¹¹⁶ Also, much of the urban fabric of today's procession route is medieval, including the streets through which the procession makes its way, the two churches that serve as its beginning and end points (the Duomo and Sta. Maria Maggiore), and the fourteenth-century church/hospital complex of S. Giovanni Evangelista at which the foot washing ritual is performed with the icon.¹¹⁷ In the earliest narrative record of the *Inchinata*, that of eyewitness Giovanni Maria Zappi in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, all these monuments are described as playing the same role in the procession as they do today.¹¹⁸ The disposition of the late medieval urban fabric of the city can be seen in a reconstruction of the city as it appeared in

¹¹⁶ Vincenzo Federici, ed., *Statuti della provincia romana: Vicovaro, Cave, Roccantica, Ripi, Genazzano, Tivoli, Castel Fiorentino* (Rome: Forzani e c., tipografia del Senato, 1910), 184: "Statuimus quod Tyburtina civitas in .III. or. partes et .III. or. contradas dividatur, videlicet una contrata sit contrata Sancte Crucis cum tota contrata collis et vallis, et alia sit contrata Trivii cum contrata vie maioris et usque ad ecclesiam Sancti Blasii et viam silcatam et lapideam que tendit ad flumen et est sub dicta ecclesia, et alia sit contrata Sancti Pauli cum illo quod superest de contrata vie maioris, addita et adiuncta ecclesia Blasii et adiuncta via que tendit ad flumen usque ad ecclesiam Sancte Lucie desuper et de subter viam, et ab ecclesia Sancte Marie de Porta, sicut recta linea protenditur ab uno latere, scilicet a latere ipsius contrade, usque ad domum Iohannis Florentii sicut recta linea protenditur, et alia contrata sit contrata Castri Veteris cum tota placcula et mercato a latere flumine, cum Cornuta et Burgo sicut olim fuerunt."

¹¹⁷ All of these monuments will be treated in more detail later in this chapter. The current structure of the Duomo dates to the mid seventeenth century, but was rebuilt on the exact site of its medieval predecessor. The church of S. Giovanni Evangelista was built at the site of the older church of St Christopher.

¹¹⁸ Zappi, *Annali e Memorie di Tivoli*, 83-85. See also appendix E.

1305.¹¹⁹ Vincenzo Federici, who published the statutes in 1910, based this reconstruction on topographical information from the text of the statutes, on a structural analysis of surviving buildings that date to that period, and on archaeological studies that reveal where late medieval structures once stood. This map shows very clearly the same network of streets through which the procession passes today. Furthermore, we know these routes existed even at the time the *Inchinata* procession likely emerged in the early twelfth century thanks to the archeological studies of Cairoli Giuliani, which demonstrate that they were established in Roman times.¹²⁰

This topographical evidence reveals that the route of the *Inchinata* may have survived more or less unchanged since the Middle Ages.¹²¹ Thus, this pattern, an almost perfect circuit of the inhabited area of the medieval city, following a good part of the walls as they stood in late Middle Ages,¹²² links the *Inchinata* with an age-old tradition of rogation and supplicatory processions in which sacred images believed to be endowed with supernatural powers encompassed and demarcated civic space, uniting and defining urban communities both literally and symbolically.

¹¹⁹ Federici, *Statuti*, plate X. In this map, the black areas indicate structures that existed in 1305 and still exist today. The cross-hatched areas indicate structures that existed in 1305 but no longer exist. The structures with a simple black outline are those which were built after 1305.

¹²⁰ Cairoli Giuliani, *Tibur. Pars Prima* (Rome: De Luca, 1970). The text of the volume explains the archeological findings of the physical remains of these roads, and the large cartographic insert to the volume shows their disposition within the ancient city.

¹²¹ There is one key exception to this which I will address later in this chapter.

¹²² Tivoli continued to use the Roman-derived walls until the mid eleventh century when it expanded them by building along its southern border a new addition that ran east-west from the Anio to Porta Scura in the southwest corner of the city at Via del Colle. Additionally, a wall was built around the small borgo of Cornuta on the other side of the river, at the northeast edge of the city. This wall may have post-dated the other, however; it is unclear exactly when it was built.

This model, however, calls for further exploration of how the apotropaic and unifying power was invoked; in other words, how the icon interacted with the spaces and monuments of the city to achieve the desired effect of its sacred and civic journey. A useful starting point is an examination of the redemptive/intercessory theme of the Savior icon and the liturgy of the procession.¹²³ The liturgy of today's *Inchinata* emphasizes the saving grace of Jesus Christ and calls on the power of the Savior, through his effigy, to protect and redeem the people. While no medieval liturgical texts survive in Tivoli to establish exactly how the *Inchinata* liturgy was performed at that time, Herbert Kessler's analysis of the iconography of the *Trittico del Salvatore* which I discussed in the previous chapter, demonstrates a strong emphasis on the themes of intercession and salvation, themes which other scholars have also shown to be inherently tied to the medieval feast of the Assumption (especially the iconography of the Dormition and the *Avvocata* pose of the Virgin).¹²⁴ Since Tivoli's Savior Triptych seems to have

¹²³ My discussion of the liturgy for the *Inchinata* is based on my personal observations of the procession in August 2009 and August 2011; on Pacifici's record of 1929 ("L'Inchinata"); and on a booklet containing the text of today's liturgy—including all the prayers, hymns, chants, lessons and rubrics—which is printed by the diocese of Tivoli and given to the participants of the procession each year. I was informed by the priest of the cathedral parish, Don Fabrizio Fantini, and the director of the liturgical office of the diocese, Don Luca Rocchi, that the text is re-printed the same every year, reproducing that which was passed down to them by their predecessors at the curia within the last decade. The exact origins of this text are unclear; my research turned up no old versions of the *Inchinata* liturgy in the archives of the cathedral or curia. However, Pacifici records enough of the *Inchinata*'s pre-Vatican II Latin liturgy to reveal that there has been significant continuity over the last 90 years. Much of the liturgy that is performed today appears to be a direct Italian translation of the Latin original from Pacifici's day. Moreover, there are key parts of today's *Inchinata* liturgy, such as specific gospel readings, antiphons and responses, that go all the way back to twelfth-century Roman liturgical texts for the vigil of the Assumption (I will discuss these texts later). Therefore, my discussion of the *Inchinata*'s liturgy is primarily based on the modern text, but I will make clear throughout this chapter how specific elements of this text relate to or are direct heirs of much older traditions. For the text of today's *Inchinata* liturgy, see Appendix F.

¹²⁴ Herbert Kessler, "The Acheropita Triptych in Tivoli," in *Immagine e Ideologia. Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle*, eds. Arturo Calzona, Roberto Campari, and Massimo Mussini (Milan: Electa, 2007), 117-125. See also Ernst Kitzinger, "A Virgin's Face: Antiquarianism in Twelfth-Century Art," *The Art Bulletin* 62, n. 1 (March, 1980): 6-19; William Tronzo, "Apse Decoration, the Liturgy and the Perception of Art in Medieval Rome: S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Maria Maggiore," in *Italian Church Decoration of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa, 1989), 167-193; Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, "Cimabue at Assisi: the Virgin, the 'Song of Songs,' and the Gift of Love," in *Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, ed. William Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 95-112. Iconographic themes and their relation to the theology of the feast of the Assumption is a topic I return to again in chapter five of this dissertation, which focuses on the *Madonna delle Grazie* icon.

been made with the purpose of being carried in the Assumption procession, this suggests that Tivoli's medieval procession liturgy, like today's, was characterized by these themes.

Furthermore, the themes of intercession and salvation run through the liturgy of the medieval Roman Assumption procession, as is seen in the emphasis on the recitation of psalms, the great beating of breasts, and prayers of supplication and praise (*Te Deum laudamus, kyrie eleison, christi eleison*, etc.) which are described in the eleventh-century Monte Cassino pontifical and in Canon Benedict's 1100 *Liber Politicus*, discussed in the previous chapter. These themes are also emphasized in Peter Damian's commentary on the Roman celebration of the Assumption.¹²⁵

Since this event was the inspiration for the *Inchinata*, it would make sense that Rome was the model for the liturgy too. It is also clear that the liturgy used today for the *Inchinata* follows the formula for the medieval civic rogations: a circumambulation of the city is made with a sacred, apotropaic object while chanting psalms and litanies and stopping at key civic landmarks, corresponding with the four cardinal directions, to read from the Gospels and recite supplicatory antiphons and responses. Thus, while the precise text of the medieval *Inchinata* liturgy is unknown, there are enough parallels between the modern *Inchinata* liturgy and the specific medieval processional traditions upon which it was obviously based to justify an analysis of its content in this study.

I propose that the salvific content of the liturgy and the supplicatory rituals with the icon during the *Inchinata* procession were designed to be performed within an urban landscape conceptualized as possessing a dual nature: on the one hand civic and on the other sacred. This

¹²⁵ Around the year 1050 Peter Damian wrote that "in Assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis," the Romans go about to places dedicated to Mary, and the Queen of Heaven intercedes on their behalf, asking for mercy that the weight of their sins and torments be lifted ("Verum hodie Regina mundi pro nobis preces fudit, neque cum multis de locis poenalibus liberavit; tantaque multitudo per interventionem eius hodie est de tormentis erepta, ut numerum totius Romanae plebis excedat: unde sacra eidem Dominae nostraeque gloriosae dicta passim loca visitamus, actionesque sibi gratiarum pro tantis misericordiae beneficiis alacres exhibemus..."). See Petrus Damiani, *De variis miraculis et apparitionibus* cap. 3 (Jacques-Paul Migne, ed., *Patrologia latina* 145 [Paris, 1865], 586).

conceptualization was tied to an idealized image of the city's political power, Christian piety, and distinguished ancient history, and functioned as an expression of its communal identity. Just as the intercessory power of the Madonna di Impruneta, as observed by Richard Trexler, was only effective when she was brought *outside* to interact corporeally with the urban stage-set of medieval Florence, the salvific powers of Tivoli's *Trittico del Salvatore* were activated by the immediacy of its physical experience with the city.

The key to this experience, however, was not just the icon's interaction with the physical fabric of the city, but its interaction with, or relationship to, *specific monuments* that the Tiburtini considered to possess an especial sanctity or historical authority. As Franklin Toker theorized about the role of Early Christian cult sites on the routes of Florence's medieval liturgical processions, the same relationship may have also been at work in Tivoli. I believe an examination of the key monuments on the route of the *Inchinata* bears out this theory.

The Duomo, the starting point of the procession, is dedicated to the Early Christian martyr Lawrence, Tivoli's patron saint and protector.¹²⁶ The church, its dedication, and the recognition of Lawrence as the city's protector-saint are all ancient. The Duomo is first recorded in the Life of Leo III in the *Liber Pontificalis* (*Isdem vero sanctissimus praesul fecit in basilica beati Laurentii martyris sita infra civitatem tiburtinam*).¹²⁷ Also, the register of the church of Tivoli contains a document of the year 1000 in which the principle citizens of Tivoli are obliged with an oath, for themselves and their heirs, to pay every year one denaro of silver or offer the

¹²⁶ For a history of the Duomo and its documentary sources, see Marco Vendittelli, "Testimonianze sulla cattedrale di Tivoli nel medioevo," *AMSTSA* 57 (1984): 73-114; and Francesco Ferruti, "La cattedrale di San Lorenzo a Tivoli: espressione della storia di un popolo," *AMSTSA* 81 (2008): 135-148.

¹²⁷ Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 2:13.

cathedral the equivalent on the feast day of St Lawrence.¹²⁸ A twelfth-century miniature in the register illustrates this oath, depicting a crowd of Tiburtine noblemen making their donation to St Lawrence who is seated on a throne.¹²⁹ St Lawrence was also depicted adjacent to the figures of Christ and Mary in the Coronation of the Virgin scene in the apse of the medieval Duomo.¹³⁰ Ernst Kitzinger,¹³¹ William Tronzo,¹³² and others have observed that the similar iconography and inscriptions of the Coronation scenes in the apse mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore and Sta. Maria in Trastevere in Rome refer to the feast of the Assumption and its procession; the roughly contemporary Tivoli fresco must have done the same, bringing the patron saint of the city, Lawrence, into a visual and ideological connection with the *Inchinata*.¹³³ This connection between the feast of the Assumption and the Tiburtine cults of the Savior and of St Lawrence is strengthened by the appearance of St Lawrence next to Christ in the *Trittico del Salvatore*'s fifteenth-century silver ceremonial covering, its cladding for the *Inchinata* procession.

Another connection between the Duomo and Early Christian saints' cults is a Tiburtine legend, which appears in surviving written sources beginning in the early sixteenth century, that the Duomo's *Trittico del Salvatore* was painted by the evangelist Luke.¹³⁴ A similar legend about

¹²⁸ Archivio Vaticano, Regesto della Chiesa di Tivoli, A.A. Armar. I-XVIII 3658, document IX, ff. 36-37. The published Latin text can be read in Luigi Bruzza, ed., *Regesto della chiesa di Tivoli*, 2nd edition (Rome: A. Forni, 1983), 54-55.

¹²⁹ The illustration accompanies the contemporary (12th cen) redaction of the oath (see note above). The text contained within the illustration reads, "Nos omnes Tiburtini tibi domino nostro Beate Laurenti nos nostrosque heredes ad serviendum in perpetuum fideliter tradimus et in tui festivitatem denarium unum annualiter solvendum pro pensione promittimus; Et obligamus nos nostrosque heredes videlicet in perpetuum ut superius scriptum est."

¹³⁰ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 131

¹³¹ Kitzinger, "A Virgin's Face," 6-19.

¹³² Tronzo, "Apse Decoration, 167-193.

¹³³ Ferruti, "La cattedrale di San Lorenzo," 141-42.

¹³⁴ This is recorded in several sixteenth-century sources. The earliest surviving reference is in the *Libro Sindicationi* of the Confraternita del Salvatore, years 1509-1548 (Tivoli, Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale). It is also stated in

the Lateran *Acheropita* is known from sources going back to the early eleventh century,¹³⁵ and the medieval Tiburtini may have adopted such legendary origins for *their* sacred Christ image since it was inspired by the Roman icon. Also interesting in this context is the local legend that the icon was given to the Duomo by fifth-century pope-saint Simplicius (468-483), a native of Tivoli.¹³⁶ Thus, from the very moment of emerging from the cathedral for its annual circumambulation of the city in the *Inchinata* procession, the Savior icon invoked the spiritual and historical authority of three Early Christian figures with ties to the city: patron saint and protector Lawrence, local hero Pope Simplicius, and the evangelist Luke.

There is another layer of historical significance to the site that lends further antiquity and venerability of the Savior icon and deepens the symbolic function of the processional topography here. The Duomo is situated in an area of the city that was strategic in Roman times and still rich in topographical remains from that period. Just beyond the piazza of the Duomo, where vicolo Raulin meets Via del Colle (the ancient Via Tiburtina), stand the remains of Porta Maggiore [fig

the inscription in the stone plaque (made 1580) in the Duomo's "Cappella del Salvatore." Also, Giovanni Maria Zappi wrote in his chronicle of the city, "The city of Tivoli possesses also an ancient image of the Santissimo Salvatore of beautiful silver [the ceremonial covering], painted by St Luke..." (Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 5).

¹³⁵ Interestingly, one of the earliest sources for the St Luke legend about the Lateran *Acheropita* is a charter of Bosone, bishop of Tivoli. The charter, dated March 10, 1029, says that Bishop Bosone, citizen of Tivoli, leaves half of his house in Rome near the Lateran to the *Acheropita*, and half to another image of the Savior venerated in the papal chapel of S. Lorenzo at the Lateran, the one he says was brought to Rome by St Peter, Emperor Titus, or Emperor Vespasian. The text describes the venerable image of the Savior that, through the supplications of the holy Virgin and apostles, was begun by St Luke and miraculously finished by God ("venerabili Imagini, quam precibus beate Virginis et B. B. Apostolorum S. Lucas cepisse habetur et birtutem Domini perfecisse"). The text of the will was copied in the seventeenth century by Giuseppe Maria Sorresini and published in 1675. See Sorresini, *De Imagine SS. Salvatoris ad Sancta Sanctorum Romae; apud Varesium* (Rome, 1675), 53-56. Additionally, as mentioned in the notes of the previous chapter, the legend was also recorded c. 1100 in the *Descriptio Lateranensis ecclesiae* (see *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, 3:357).

¹³⁶ Marco Antonio Nicodemi, *Storia di Tivoli*, eds. Amadeo Bussi and Vincenzo Pacifici (Tivoli: Soc. Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte 1926), 104: "Nec Romam augens patriae suae defuit: nam & Templum S. Mariae majoris satis insigne exaedificasse; & Ss. Virginis Imagine a B. Luca Evangelista depicta exornasse fertur: praeterea Templum S. Petro ornatissimum, aliud S. Silvestro haud ignobile extruxisse fertur: Cathedralem vero Aedem Sacrosancti Salvatoris ab eodem Evangelista ad vivum expressa Imagine auxit."

9, A]. Before the Roman defensive walls were expanded in the mid eleventh century, this gate gave access to the Via Tiburtina, the road to Rome.¹³⁷ From this strategic function derives the medieval denomination *porta maggiore*.¹³⁸ The gate marked the western boundary of the area

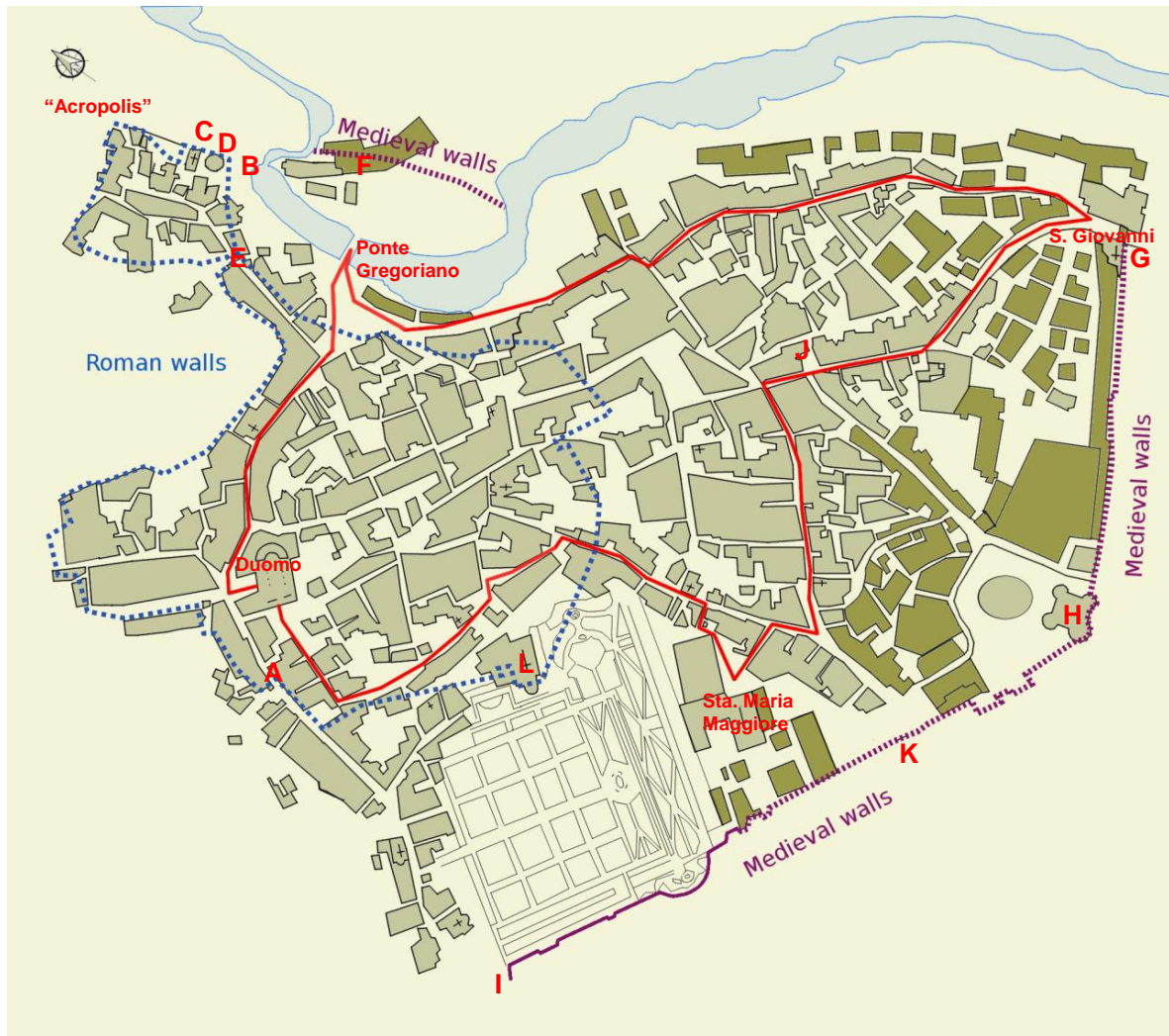


Fig 9. Tivoli's historic medieval center with key topographical features of *Inchinata* procession route. Dark green blocks indicate areas of modern expansion. Map, Rebekah Perry.

¹³⁷ For the medieval expansion of the walls: Marco Vendittelli, "La 'civitas vetus' tiburtina: una nuova proposta di datazione per le seconde mura urbane di Tivoli," *ASRSP* 102 (1979): 157-178.

¹³⁸ Speaking of the road which is today occupied by Via S. Valerio/Via del Colle, a concession of land and property by Pope Benedict VII to the church of Tivoli dated 978 says, "silice publica qui descendit ad porta maggiore et usque in porta scura" (See Bruzza, *Regesto della Chiesa di Tivoli*, 33). For more on Porta Maggiore: Giuliani, *Tibur. Pars Prima*, 89-91.

of the Roman forum, at the center of which the Duomo now stands.¹³⁹ Porta Maggiore is also significant as the first in a series of defensive gates that defined the progress of the medieval *Inchinata* procession and provided “staging areas” for its ritual ceremonies.

This site was not only significant because it was the forum, locus of Roman civic life in ancient Tibur, but also because it was believed to have been the location of the temple of Hercules Victor, a major center in Italy for the cult of Hercules.¹⁴⁰ This belief may be explained by inscriptions found in the vicinity with references to Hercules (probably removed from the temple complex in the early Middle Ages to use as building materials for the Duomo and its neighborhood).¹⁴¹ The inscriptions combined with the presence of the massive cryptoporticus that flanks today’s Piazza Domenico Tani next to the duomo,¹⁴² and the visible Roman apsed structure that was incorporated into the medieval Duomo itself,¹⁴³ would have given the later medieval Tiburtini the impression of a grand, ancient civic and cult site.

There can be little doubt that the historic importance of the site was the reason the early medieval cathedral was built there. Several scholars have noted that the feast day of St Lawrence falls on August 10, which coincides with the festival of Hercules Victor (August 13), and with *Feriae Augusti*, the mid August harvest festival instituted by Emperor Augustus (which still

¹³⁹ Giuliani, *Tibur. Pars Prima*, 56-67.

¹⁴⁰ For example, Zappi’s extensive description of the site begins with the declaration, “The temple of the great Hercules was founded and built where today stands the cathedral of the city of Tivoli...” (Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 40). The temple, however, is actually located on the southwestern flank of the city.

¹⁴¹ Giuliani, *Tibur. Pars Prima*, 60.

¹⁴² Giuliani, *Tibur. Pars Prima*, 95-107.

¹⁴³ Giuliani, *Tibur. Pars Prima*, 56-62.

survives today as Rome's principle summer holiday *Ferragosto*).¹⁴⁴ This is not coincidental because the cult of Augustus came to be closely associated with that of Hercules Victor; the emperor frequented the Tiburtine Temple of Hercules Victor to administer justice, and the temple's cult for the deity absorbed that of the emperor, as multiple surviving inscriptions specifying *Herculanei et Augustales* in reference to the temple's college of priests attests.¹⁴⁵ Later it seems, this popular festival which celebrated both the man-God Hercules and the man-God Augustus was Christianized by substituting it with the cult of the Early Christian martyr-saint Lawrence who replaced Hercules as patron of the city.¹⁴⁶

Thus the physical structure of Tivoli's Duomo and the dedication it bears are Christian iterations of the city's older Roman traditions. It is significant, therefore, that it was at this exact site that the city's most important icon—the *Trittico del Salvatore*—resided, and that it was this spot from which its most elaborate public liturgical procession issued. Moreover, the fact that the procession was performed for a mid-August festival—the Assumption—which coincided with all the other ancient celebrations cited above is also interesting. It seems that the Savior became the receptacle of a long tradition of local spiritual and cultural authority at that site going back beyond the city's Early Christian history to its distant pre-Christian past.

¹⁴⁴ Vincenzo Pacifici, *Tivoli nel medio-evo* (Tivoli: Majella di A. Chicca, 1926), 131; *Tivoli: Il santuario di Ercole Vincitore a Tivoli* (Rome: Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio, 1998), 14; Ferruti, "La cattedrale di San Lorenzo a Tivoli," 138.

¹⁴⁵ Pacifici, *Tivoli nel medio-evo*, 66-67; *Tivoli: Il santuario di Ercole Vincitore*, 14; Francesca Cerrone, "I fasti dei magistri herculanei di sora," *Epigrafia 2006: Atti della XIVe rencontre sur l'epigraphie in onore di Silvio Panciera con altri contributi di colleghi, allievi e collaboratori* (Roma: Quasar, 2006), 838.

¹⁴⁶ Francesco Ferruti has pointed out a further potential connection between the cult of Hercules and the Early Christian cult of St Lawrence: their attributes are similar. According to Ferruti, the processional cross of Lawrence, which is depicted in Early Christian iconography (such as in a mosaic of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna) as a long staff topped by a cross, seems to have a parallel in Hercules' long club (Ferruti, "La cattedrale di San Lorenzo," 138-39).

From the Duomo, the procession progresses along Via San Valerio, whose path dates to Roman times and follows the line of the Roman defensive walls, now no longer extant but still visible in the Middle Ages.¹⁴⁷ The bishop and faithful intone verses and responses deriving from psalm 117 (*Alleluia. Laudate Dominum, omnes gentes; collaudate eum, omnes populi*). This is followed by a *gloria patri* and a recitation of the *Exultet*, the medieval hymn of supplication and rejoicing in Christ's resurrection and atonement. After approaching the summit of this street and crossing Piazza Rivarola the procession reaches the center of Ponte Gregoriano, the site of the Savior icon's first ritual stop.

A reader proclaims that here the Tiburtini defended the city against the armies that came from Abruzzo. As the icon faces east toward the edge of the city in the direction of Abruzzo the bishop recites, "Signore, dona la pace ai nostri giorni, noi speriamo in te: tu sei il nostro aiuto, il nostro unico Dio" ("Lord, give peace to our days, we hope in you; you are our help, our only

¹⁴⁷ A land concession by Pope Benedict II, dated 978, confirming to Tivoli all its holdings contains valuable topographical data about the city at that time, including the position of its walls (*Regesto della chiesa di Tivoli*, 32-39). The document includes the following: "...regionem totum in integrum que appellatur foro et vicu patricii et oripo cum ecclesia sancti alexandri et aquimolis cum forma antiqua iuxta episcopio. Item ecclesiam sancti pauli et regione que vocatur formello cum gradas suas et cum omnibus ad eas pertinentibus sibi invicem coerentem. Et inter affines ab uno latere silice publica. Qui descendit ad porta maiore et usque in porta scura. A secundo latere muro civitatis tyburtina usque in posterula, cum aeclesia sancti pantaleonis cum turre et scala marmorea et deinde ascendentem per via publica, usque ad murum antiquum sancti pauli ex utraque vero partem ipsum murum et pervenit usque in muro civitatis. Similiter est regione que appellatur piazzula. Ab uno latere muro ipsius civitatis. Et a secundo latere silice que pergit ad posterula de vesta. Et a tertio sive a quarto latere monasterio sancti benedicti. Necnon et alium regionem totum in integrum qui vocatur castro vetere cum aeclesia sancte mariae et sancti georgii quae sunt diaconie. Ab uno latere fossatum unde pergit aqua in vesta ex utraque vero parte murus civitatis circumdatur...." A reconfirmation of Tivoli's holdings by Pope John XIX in 1029 repeats the same topographical details (*Regesto della chiesa di Tivoli*, document XI, pp. 59-66). Aided by this textual description, Giuliani created a map of the disposition of the city and the Roman defensive walls as they would have appeared then (see Giuliani, *Tibur. Pars Prima*, 33). There is ample evidence that the Roman walls were still standing in the later Middle Ages. Giuliani has excavated multiple sections englobed in later structures. Also, many documents from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries refer to Tivoli's city gates, both those positioned in the eleventh-century expansion and those in the original Roman-built wall. Even some early modern textual sources make mention of Tivoli's Roman walls, such as that which once abutted the church of S. Pietro Maggiore ("dal lato verso levante si ritrova ricento dalla chiesa di S. Pietro Maggiore con il suo portone, ma verso ponente lo circola in una parte la muraglia della città e una bellissima loggia principiata...", Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 56). Remains of the Roman walls also appear in some early modern depictions of the city, such as a 1578 engraving by Abramo Ortelio and Giorgio Hoefnagle, which shows a section of the Roman-derived wall with a gate or posterula, along Via Maggiore, parallel to the river on the east side of the city.

God”). Then the people respond, “Ci sia pace tra le tue mura e abbondanza nella tua città” (“Let there be peace inside your walls and abundance in your city”). This is a modernized version of the medieval antiphon and response of *Da Pacem Domine*, from psalm 122, which were recited at this moment of the procession in the early twentieth century, according to Vincenzo Pacifici’s account dating from that time: *Da pacem in diebus nostris quia non est alius, qui pugnet pro nobis nisi Tu Deus, Deus noster. Fiat pax in virtute tua, et abundantia in turribus tuis*¹⁴⁸ (“Give us peace in our days since there is no one else to fight for us if not you, God, our God. Let there be peace in your city and abundance in your towers”). After these recitations the bishop censes the icon.

Then the men of the *Confraternita del Salvatore* lift the heavy wooden *macchina* of the Savior triptych and turn it to face north, the direction of “the temple of the Sibyl and Rome” as announced by the reader. The bishop prays, “Salvatore nostro, che per mezzo del tuo sangue e della tua croce hai redento il mondo, salvaci” (“Our Savior, who through your blood and your cross redeemed the world, save us”). This is a modernized version of the eucharistic prayer *Salvator Mundi* given here in the early twentieth-century version of the *Inchinata* liturgy: *Salvator mundi, salva nos, qui per crucem et resurrectionem tuam liberasti nos.*¹⁴⁹

Then the icon is turned again, west, toward the interior of the city as the bishop recites a second time the antiphon “Signore, dona la pace ai nostri giorni” (*Da Pacem Domine*). The icon is turned once more, this time south, facing the Anio. The bishop prays, “Degnati di liberare questa città dalla violenza delle acque del fiume. Noi ti supplichiamo: ascoltaci!” (“Free this city

¹⁴⁸ Pacifici, L’*Inchinata*,” 1428. It is interesting that this same Latin antiphon formula appears in a nineteenth-century liturgical text for rogation processions preserved in the archive of the Tivoli’s diocese (*Ordo servandus in processionibus faciendis in diebus S. Marci Evangelistae, et Rogationum* [Rome: Tipografia Rev. Cam. Apost., 1821]).

¹⁴⁹ Pacifici, L’*Inchinata*,” 1428.

from the violence of the waters of the river. We supplicate you: hear us!”). In the early twentieth-century liturgy it was, *Ut civitatem istam ab impetu fluminis liberare digneris, Te rogamus, audi nos!*¹⁵⁰ While the bishop says these words, the prior of the *Confraternita del Salvatore* lifts a candle from the icon’s *macchina*, lights it, and throws it into the river.

These rites suggest a multi-layered significance to the supplication “salvaci!” (“save us!”) and the function of the Savior triptych as civic *palladium*. There appears to be a three-fold meaning. In one sense, the bishop is imploring the Lord for spiritual salvation through Christ’s atonement. In another sense, as observed by Vincenzo Pacifici, from a historical perspective the Tiburtini are asking God, as his effigy faces outward beyond the city gate in the direction of Abruzzo, for a more immediate, literal salvation: salvation from its enemies, possibly most especially from the commune of Subiaco, one of Tivoli’s perennial nemeses in the Middle Ages.¹⁵¹ On a third level, the people are asking for salvation from natural forces: the devastating floods that struck Tivoli throughout its history until the nineteenth century when the Anio was partially diverted outside the city to the northeast.

The ritual is undoubtedly location-specific. The liturgical formulas both modeled on Rome’s Assumption procession and inspired by medieval rogation processions appear to have been adapted intentionally for this site. The bridge had important symbolic and literal significance as the boundary between what was, in the Middle Ages, the main area of the inhabited city and the outlying borgo of Cornuta beyond which the Via Marsicana stretched toward Subiaco and Abruzzo. This road signified economic prosperity and military prowess to

¹⁵⁰ Pacifici, *L’Inchinata*,” 1428.

¹⁵¹ Paolo Delogu, “Territorio e cultura fra Tivoli e Subiaco nell’alto medioevo,” *AMSTSA* 52-53 (1979-80): 26-54.

Tivoli because while the city was able to maintain the upper hand in the region, it was able to control the road, a major trade route, and collect substantial taxes from it.¹⁵²

However, neither Piazza Rivarola nor Ponte Gregoriano existed before the nineteenth century.¹⁵³ This indicates that the medieval procession route had to have differed here. I believe it continued slightly further north, past where the Ponte Gregoriano is today, to the “acropolis” or “citadel” along the road known today as Via della Sibilla. This route would have followed the city walls more closely and encompassed the *contrada* of Castrovetero more fully than today’s route, which includes only a corner of that section of the city. The “acropolis” was one of the most strategic sites of the city throughout its history. In the Middle Ages a bridge [fig 9, B] connected it, near the two Roman temples [fig 9, C and D], to the borgo of Cornuta and the road to Abruzzo.¹⁵⁴ This bridge can be seen in the earliest known map of Tivoli, that of Daniel Stoopendal of 1622. It is also the subject of numerous engravings and paintings, such as those by Giovanni Francesco Venturini, Gaspar Van Wittel, and Francois-Marius Granet. Ruins of the bridge are still visible on the west side of the gorge. The acropolis was secured in Roman times by the Porta Variana,¹⁵⁵ then later, at the same site, by a medieval gate, tower, and drawbridge over a moat that sealed it off in times of crisis [fig 9, E]. Another gate secured Cornuta on the other side of the bridge [fig 10, F]. These thirteenth- and fourteenth-century defensive structures

¹⁵² The register of the church of Tivoli contains a papal concession from 978 in which Benedict confirms to Tivoli possession of Via Marsicana (*Insuper concedo et confirmo marsicanam viam in integram*). See Bruzza, *Regesto della chiesa di Tivoli*, 34-35. Tivoli’s location at the mouth of the Anio Valley and its control of the access route to Abruzzo through the Apennine mountains established Tivoli as a major power in the region. See Vincenzo Pacifici, “Il ponte sulla cascata,” *AMSTSA* 15 (1935): 246; and Isa Belli Barsali, “Problemi dell’abitato di Tivoli nel’alto medioevo,” *AMSTSA* 51 (1979): 129-131.

¹⁵³ The bridge and piazza were built when part of the river was diverted outside of the city to the northeast to prevent the disastrous flooding that plagued Tivoli throughout its history.

¹⁵⁴ The bridge was rebuilt many times due to wars and periodic flooding. For the documentation on the series of bridges at this site, see Pacifici, “Il ponte sulla cascata,” 246-251.

¹⁵⁵ Giuliani, *Tibur. Pars Prima*, 115-118.

attest to the continued importance in the late Middle Ages of these two high necks of land—Castrovetere and Cornuta—jutting out over the river gorge and commanding a sweeping view of the valley (thus the names “acropoli” and “citadella” given to it by the city’s later inhabitants).

Given the evidence discussed earlier in this chapter for the symbolic and ritual significance of city gates in processions throughout the Middle Ages, it would be expected that the *Inchinata*’s ritual ceremony with the Savior icon which today is performed on the slightly up-river nineteenth-century Ponte Gregoriano, was originally performed on the earlier bridge of Castrovetere, near the gate of the acropolis. This area had an important significance for the medieval Tiburtini as a crossroads of trade and conflict between Tivoli and its neighboring powers, and the bridge and defensive gate would have symbolized this boundary. There is, in fact, an 1825 drawing made by C. Hullmandel that depicts a religious procession on the acropolis, at the church of S. Giorgio [fig 9, C] (the rectangular Roman temple that was used as a Christian *diaconia* [church-operated charitable institution] and church from the early Middle Ages until the nineteenth-century when it was deconsecrated and returned to its classical appearance). While we do not know what procession is depicted in the painting, it is evidence in any case that the Tiburtine acropolis was historically used as a site for religious processions.

As the site of the two ancient temples the acropolis could also have had spiritual significance relating to the city’s legendary Christian history. In the second phase of the *Inchinata* bridge ceremony the icon is turned north “toward the temple of the Sibyl,” referring to the round Roman temple on the edge of the river gorge [fig 9, D]. In the early Middle Ages, both this temple and the rectangular one standing next to it were converted into *diaconiae*. The round

temple, however, seems to have fallen into disuse by the late Middle Ages¹⁵⁶ and reverted back to its picturesque classical appearance as is seen in numerous early modern paintings and engravings by artists such as Giovanni Battista Piranesi. The round temple was historically associated with the Tiburtine sibyl, Albunea.¹⁵⁷ This sibyl, according to the Christianized Sibylline texts, prophesied of the birth of Christ to Emperor Augustus who built an altar, the *aracoeli*, on the Capitoline Hill in Rome to commemorate the event (the church of Sta. Maria in Aracoeli stands on this site). Giovanni Maria Zappi praises the “miraculous and beautiful temple of the noble prophetess, the Tiburtine Sibyl.”¹⁵⁸ While this sixteenth-century record is Tivoli’s earliest surviving reference to the “temple of the Sybil,” Jacopo da Voragine’s thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* and the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century pilgrims guides the *Mirabilia Romae* and the *Graphia aureae Urbis Romae* celebrate the miracle and praise the Tiburtine sibyl as a venerable Christian prophetess.¹⁵⁹ In addition, the twelfth-century altar in Sta. Maria in Aracoeli in Rome contains an inscription that commemorates the miraculous prophecy: *Luminis hanc almam Matris qui scandis ad aulam cunctarum prima quae fuit orbe sita noscas quod Cesar tunc struxit Octavianus hanc ara celi sacra prole cum patet ei.*¹⁶⁰ Thus the fame of the Tiburtine sibyl was not just a Renaissance invention; rather, it was broadly diffused in the late Middle Ages in multiple popular texts. The medieval Tiburtini must certainly have been aware of the legend and

¹⁵⁶ There are no records of this diaconia, dedicated to Mary, after the eleventh century. For a discussion of the two *diaconiae* on the acropolis and their medieval documentary sources, see Renzo Mosti, “Istituti assistenziali e ospitalieri nel medioevo a Tivoli,” *AMSTSA* 54 (1981): 94-97.

¹⁵⁷ In reality, it is unknown what divinity was venerated at either of the two Roman temples in Tivoli.

¹⁵⁸ Zappi, *Atti e memorie di Tivoli*, 42.

¹⁵⁹ Carolus Ludovicus Urlichs, ed., *Codex urbis Romae topographicus* (Wirceburgi: aedibus Stahelianis, 1871), 95-96. For the text of the *Mirabilia* relating to the Tiburtine sybil, see appendix G. The *Graphia aureae Urbis Romae* repeats the version of the story in the *Mirabilia* with slight variations (Urlichs, *Codex urbis Romae topographicus*, 120-21).

¹⁶⁰ As transcribed by Vincenzo Pacifici in *Tivoli nel medio-evo*, 362.

the import of the site of the sibyl's temple in Christian "history." For the medieval Tiburtini this temple likely symbolized both the glory of the city's ancient past and Christianity's victory over paganism.

The site where the first ritual stop with the Savior icon takes place is significant for another episode in legendary Early Christian history. It was here at the falls of the Anio that the body of St. Sinforosa was flung with a stone tied around her neck after the Tiburtine widow was brutally martyred by Emperor Hadrian in the second century at the occasion of the dedication of his new villa outside Tivoli.¹⁶¹ Tivoli had a special devotion to the cult of St Sinforosa as the fifteenth- through eighteenth-century representations of her and her legend in sacred sites around the city bear witness.¹⁶² Also, a church dedicated to the saint once stood in today's Piazza del Governo. This church was only built in 1587, but her cult in the territory goes all the way back to the fourth century when a *cella memoriae* was built for her outside Tivoli on the Via Tiburtina, then later enlarged becoming a Christian pilgrimage site included in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*.¹⁶³ The special veneration of St Sinforosa in Tivoli is revealed in the evocative early twentieth-century account of Vincenzo Pacifici,

Once it was told to little children that on that August night [of the *Inchinata*] all the sons of Sinforosa, turned into golden angels, leaned their blond heads out of the clouds and threw on the procession of the Savior infinite flowers of stars: all the falling stars of the limpid night of summer.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ See Teodorico Ruinart (1657-1709), ed., "Passio sanctae Symphorosae et septem filiorum eius," in *Gli atti sinceri dei martiri della chiesa cattolica* (Milan, 1731), 280-282. Sinforosa was martyred with her seven sons. After being whipped and hung by her hair from a tree, Sinforosa was thrown into the Anio with a stone tied around her neck. Afterward her sons were likewise brutally martyred with spears and hot irons and then tied together and thrown in the gorge.

¹⁶² These sites include the cathedral and the churches of Sta. Maria Maggiore and S. Michele.

¹⁶³ For the history of the cult of St Sinforosa in Tivoli and territory, including the Early Christian shrine and church mentioned here, see Franco Sciarretta, *S. Sinforosa e i primi martiri tiburtini* (Tivoli: Tiburis Artistica, 2002).

¹⁶⁴ Pacifici, "L'Inchinata," 1426.

In fact, in Pacifici's time the *Inchinata* celebration included illuminating the river with little lights in remembrance of the sons of Sinforosa, a tradition captured in one of the early twentieth-century pastels by Luigi Gaudenzi, who recorded the procession in a series of eight images (commissioned by Pacifici).

As the procession leaves the Ponte Gregoriano, it winds down Via dei Sosii, parallel to the Anio. As before, it follows the line of the Roman walls that are now no longer standing but would have guided the *Inchinata*'s path in the Middle Ages as suggests a 1578 engraving by Abramo Ortelio and Giorgio Hoefnagle which shows the wall still standing, although decaying, in that part of the city. After litanies and penitential invocations are said, the procession reaches the medieval church and hospital of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Porta S. Giovanni (*Portas Pratorum* or *Porta Pratis* in the Middle Ages) [fig 9, G].¹⁶⁵ Here, the second ritual ceremony with the icon takes place. The location chosen for this ritual is significant because it, like the previous ritual on the bridge, is staged at a city gate in the tract of medieval defensive wall, built around 1050, stretching between the Anio, around the spot where Rocca Pia was later built in the mid fifteenth century [fig 9, H], ending at Porta del Colle (*porta scure*, or "Porta Scura" in the Middle Ages) at the southwest corner of the city [fig 9, I].

This ceremony, too, expresses themes of intercession and Christ's salvation of mankind through the remission of sins. The chaplain of the hospital approaches the litter of the Savior icon and repeats the antiphon "Signore, dona la pace ai nostri giorni" (*Da Pacem Domine*). With an aspergillum he tosses rosewater on the feet of the icon as a reader prays,

¹⁶⁵ This hospital was established at "*porta de Pratis*" in 1337 with a dedication to Santo Spirito (it was moved here from its original site at Porta del Colle at the southwest edge of the city). The dedication was changed to San Giovanni in 1404. The hospital complex was built at the site of the earlier church of St Christopher. Therefore, even though the hospital only dates to the second quarter for the fourteenth century, there would always have been a church at the site during the early history of the *Inchinata*. This adds to the likelihood that the site was included on the original *Inchinata* route. For the history and documentation on the hospital: Mosti, "Istituti assistenziali, 107-130, 147-158.

O Dio, da cui provengono i santi desideri, i giusti consigli e le buone opere, elargisci ai tuoi servi quella pace che il mondo non può dare: fa' che i nostri cuori seguano il tuo volere e, liberi dall'oppressione della colpa, sotto la tua protezione possiamo godere giorni tranquilli. Per Cristo nostro Signore ("O God, from whom come holy desires, just counsel and good works, bestow on us your servants that peace that the world cannot give: make our hearts follow your desire and free from the oppression of guilt, under your protection we may enjoy tranquil days").

This is a modernized version of the Gregorian supplicatory chant *Deus a quo desideria* (*Deus a quo desideria, recta consilia, et iusta sunt opera, da servis tuis illam quam mundus dare non potest, pacem; et hostium sublata formidine, tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla per Christum Dominum nostrum*). Following the prayer the chaplain censes the icon.¹⁶⁶

The ritual of the foot washing at the hospital of S. Giovanni Evangelista was inspired by the multiple foot washings of the *Acheropita* icon during the Roman Assumption procession, most especially, it seems, that which took place at the Lateran hospital (also dedicated to San Giovanni). This hospital was founded and operated by the *Raccomandati del Salvatore confraternity*.¹⁶⁷ As Enrico Parlato has observed about the foot washing rituals with the *Acheropita*, the foot washing of the *Trittico del Salvatore* in the *Inchinata* conveys a penitential/redemptive theme in its evocation of the scene in Luke 7:37-38 where a sinful woman, often interpreted as Mary Magdalene, washes Christ's feet at the house of the Pharisee Simon.¹⁶⁸ The message of Christ as Redeemer is reinforced at this site by a fifteenth-century fresco in the vault of the church's presbytery depicting the blessing Christ in an iconographically near-exact reinterpretation of the *Trittico del Salvatore*: the frontal, enthroned Savior raises his

¹⁶⁶ The ceremony at the hospital with the icon involves additional rites which will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁶⁷ For more on this ritual and the Roman confraternity's role as the patron of the hospital, see Kirstin Noreen, "Sacred Memory and Confraternal Space," 159-187; and Giovanna Curcio, "L'Ospedale di S. Giovanni in Laterano: funzione urbana di una istituzione ospedaliera," *Storia dell'arte*, part I v. 32 (1978): 23-39, and part II v. 36/37 (1979): 103-140.

¹⁶⁸ Parlato, "Le icone in processione," 78.

right arm and with his index and middle fingers extended makes a gesture of blessing while in his left hand he holds at his side an open book (here with the inscription *Ego sum lux mundi via veritas et vita*).¹⁶⁹ This image, appropriately, looks down upon a scene of the Virgin's Assumption on the left wall of the presbytery.¹⁷⁰

The procession turns back northwest toward the center of the city. There it encounters the church of San Vincenzo [fig 9, J]. As the procession passes this now deconsecrated church, the people intone the litany of saints. This monument is significant for the medieval history of Tivoli because it was a cult site for both the fourth-century St Vincent *and* St Sinforosa. The old Roman cistern under the church was considered to be the "Grotto of St Sinforosa" in which the saint hid with her seven sons from Emperor Hadrian's persecution. Giovanni Zappi wrote that,

In the church of St Vincenzo there is an ancient grotto under the altar, an object of great devotion because they say that under this grotto the martyr St Sinforosa hid with her seven poor sons to flee the wrath of Emperor Hadrian, during whose reign Sinforosa was martyred, as they say, with her seven sons according to her legend...¹⁷¹

A 1636 edition martyrology records that *Extat adhuc Tibure Cisterna Sicca, ubi illis persecutionis temporibus Sancta Symphorosa cum Filiis aliquando delituit* ("There is still in Tivoli a dry cistern where in those times of persecution St Sinforosa and her sons hid themselves").¹⁷² Contemporary Tivoli historian Francesco Marzi confirmed that "in the parish

¹⁶⁹ I would like to thank Nino Zchomelidse for drawing my attention to the iconographic parallels between the S. Giovanni fresco and the *Trittico del Salvatore*.

¹⁷⁰ The frescoes were made around the mid fifteenth-century and are attributed, along with the other presbytery frescoes, to Antoniazio Romano. See Franco Sciarretta, *Viaggio a Tivoli: guida della città e del territorio di Tivoli* (Tivoli: Tiburis Artistica, 2001), 201-203.

¹⁷¹ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 6.

¹⁷² Cesare Baronio, ed., *Martirologio romano: corretto e pubblicato per ordine della fel. mem. di papa Gregorio XIII*, (Rome, 1636).

church of S. Vincenzo of Tivoli a dry grotto or cistern was venerated with great devotion.”¹⁷³ In the next century Giovanni Carlo Crocchianti recorded that over the grotto inside the church was an altar dedicated to St Sinforosa, and that inside the grotto was a marble plaque with the inscription *Vetus memoria ubi S. Symphorosa cum filiis orans domi latitabet tempore persecutionis Adriani imperatoris*.¹⁷⁴ Evidence that the cult of St Sinforosa at the church of S. Vincenzo dates back to the Middle Ages is a seventeenth-century record of an inscription on the wall of the sacristy in gothic characters recording an indulgence dated 1286. The indulgence was conceded by a group of 11 bishops who in that year were at Tivoli to join Pope Honorius IV who was sojourning there in the summer of 1286. The indulgence is conceded to the faithful who visit the church at Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and the feasts of the Virgin and St Sinforosa, as well as of the martyrs Crisanto and Daria.¹⁷⁵

Though St Vincent had long had a cult in medieval Tivoli, as the antiquity of the church attests, it became even more important from 1381 onward when Vincent became a protector-saint of the city when on his feast day (January 22) of that year, the Tiburtini defeated Corrado, Count of Anticoli. From then on every year on St Vincent’s feast day, the magistrates of the city brought to the church a tribute of two torches.¹⁷⁶ So by the late fourteenth century, the inclusion

¹⁷³ Francesco Marzi, *Historia ampliata di Tivoli* I (Rome, 1665), 222.

¹⁷⁴ Crocchianti, *Istoria delle chiese della città di Tivoli*, 157. The eighteenth-century historian adds that “the sanctuary is accessed by 22 steps, which are 48 palmi long, four and two-thirds palmi wide, and 10 palmi high, such that with much discomfort and annoyance this heroine saint with her sons must have sojourned in this habitation for many days, which, being summertime [sic], was cold and a humor seeped from the walls, as it does today, capable of drenching through clothes and filling vials (Crocchianti, 158).

¹⁷⁵ The inscription is first mentioned by Michele Giuliani in “De’ Vescovi e de’ Governatori di Tivoli” printed in *Historia ampliata di Tivoli* (47). In Crocchianti’s time, the inscription was still displayed in the church, but “partially missing” (Crocchianti, 155). For the text of the indulgence, see appendix H.

¹⁷⁶ Nicodemi, *Storia di Tivoli*, 156: “Ad tantae victoriae monumentum quotannis Magistratus templum S. vincentii Martyris die ei dicata, qua ea est habita, tibicinibus toto itinere clangentibus progreditur, ac Deo O.M. Sanctoque tantam gloriam congratulaturus adit; duo candida e cera funabula octo librarum pondere offert; majori Missae, quae cantibus, sonitibusque colitur, interest: idque sanctione vigesima tertia secunda Constitutionum libri statutum est.”

of the church of S. Vincenzo on the route of the *Inchinata* procession signified not just a display of piety or even an invocation of the city's noble Early Christian past, but also an act of homage to one of the commune's local protector-saints. A visit, therefore, from the city's sacred *palladium*—the *Trittico del Salvatore*—would have indeed been fitting.

The destination of the procession is the Franciscan church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, which, like the previous stops along the route, is located next to the site of a now-destroyed city gate: Porta Avenzia [fig 9, K].¹⁷⁷ As the people approach the piazza of the church they intone the litany of the saints. The bishop recites the antiphon and verse “Oggi la vergine Maria è accolta nei cieli” (“Today the Virgin Mary is received into heaven”) and “Godono gli angeli, si rallegrano gli arcangeli per l'esaltazione di Maria” (“The angels rejoice, the archangels are gladdened at the exaltation of Mary”). These are the modernized versions of the Gregorian antiphons for the medieval office of the Assumption, *Hodie Maria Virgo coelos ascendit* and *Gaudent angeli, exsultant archangeli in Maria virgine*.¹⁷⁸ The subsequent reading from the gospel of Luke 11:27-28¹⁷⁹ was also part of the ancient liturgy for the eve of the Assumption as contained in both the Roman missal and Roman breviary.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ The church was Benedictine until the mid thirteenth century. The history of the church and the *Madonna delle Grazie* icon housed there are treated in detail in chapter five.

¹⁷⁸ See J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina* v. 78 (Paris, 1895), 798-800; J. Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii* v. 1 (Rome: Herber, 1963), 282-289; and Rachel Fulton, “The Song of Songs,” 105-108. These chants are also contained in the office for the Assumption in an early nineteenth-century hand-written antiphonary from the convent of St Anna in Tivoli (Archivio Diocesano di Tivoli, *Antiphonae, et hymni pro aliquibus anni festivitibus ad usum chori Sanctae Annae Tiburis* [1836], ff. 117-120).

¹⁷⁹ “And it came to pass, as he [Jesus] was saying these things, a certain woman of the company lifted up her voice and said to him, ‘Blessed is the womb that bore you, and the breast that nursed you.’ But he said ‘blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it.’”

¹⁸⁰ See *Missale romanum ordinarium* (Venice, 1521), f. 220v; and *Breviarium romanum completissimum* (Venice, 1522), 417v: “In illo tempore, loquete ie fu ad turbas. Extolles vocem quedam mulier & turba dixit illi, Beatus venter que te portavit & ubera que suxisti. At ille dixit quinimmo, Beati qui audiunt verbum dei & custodiunt illud.”

As the Savior icon approaches an arch of myrtle erected in the center of the piazza the mason's guild carries the thirteenth-century image of the *Madonna delle Grazie* out of the church to meet it, exactly as in Zappi's description. The intercessory message of the ceremony is expressed through the iconography of the Madonna icon with its gesture of intercession, echoing that of the standing Virgin on the left panel of the Savior triptych and reinforcing the Dormition/Assumption theme in the narrative scene beneath it. The theme of intercession and redemption are also evident from the Gospel reading of John 17:24-26 which now takes place:

Father, I will that they also, whom you have given me, be with me where I am; that they may behold my glory, which you have given me: for you loved me before the foundation of the world. O righteous Father, the world has not known you: but I have known you, and these have known that you have sent me. And I have declared to them your name, and will declare it: that the love with which you have loved me may be in them, and I in them.

Then the climactic moment occurs: the great wooden litters on which the image of the son and the image of the mother rest are inclined toward each other three times as the people shout "Misericordia! Misericordia!"

In the salvific message of the ritual, the Savior triptych as *palladium* invokes the spiritual and historical authority of the site. While the Marian dedication of the church only dates to 1084¹⁸¹ popular local belief had it that Tiburtine Pope Simplicius founded Sta. Maria Maggiore in the fourth century, and that it was he who had given the church the venerated image of the *Madonna delle Grazie*, which, like the Savior icon, was painted by St Luke.¹⁸² The connection between Sta. Maria Maggiore and an icon painted by St Luke is documented since the fourteenth century. Dating from that period, an inventory of relics kept at the church includes the dust or

¹⁸¹ Prior to that it was dedicated to saints Hadrian and Natalia.

¹⁸² Nicodemi, *Storia di Tivoli*, 104: "Nec Romam augens Tiburi patriae suae defuit; nam et Templum S. Mariae majoris satis insigne exaedificasse; et SS. Virginis Imagine a B. Luca Evangelista depicta exornasse fertur."

ashes of an image of the Virgin painted by St Luke, kept in a silver casket (*de pulvere ymaginis beate virginis quam depinxit beatus lucas. Iste fuerunt in cassecta parva de argento*).¹⁸³

Thus, the two churches which served as the beginning and end points of the procession shared special status in popular local culture as having origins in the city's Early Christian past and endowed with especially sacred images which had not only been given to the city by local pope-saint Simplicius, but had been painted by the hand of the Evangelist Luke, apostle of Christ. We cannot know whether such legends were the cause or the effect of the original selection of the *Madonna delle Grazie* as the object of the climatic ritual encounter with the *Trittico del Salvatore* at the culmination of the August 14-15 procession, or of the choice of the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore as the backdrop for that ceremony.¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, there are striking parallels between the function of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Tivoli and the papal basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome, both in terms of the prominence of the two churches in the community as major cult sites to Mary, and as destinations of the Assumption processions which also housed the images of the Virgin used in those processions. Considering, therefore, that the founding of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Tivoli in the eleventh century could have reflected a desire to emulate Rome's principle Marian basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore (the destination of *its* Assumption procession), it is significant that the two key staging sites and the two key images in the *Inchinata* spectacle were perceived as representing the antiquity and authority of the Early

¹⁸³ Archivio Comunale di Tivoli, Sezione Preunitaria, 24, S. Maria Maggiore, n. 16. The document is not dated, but based on the script has been assigned to the fourteenth century by Vincenzo Pacifici in "Notizie," *ASRSP* 43-44 (1920-21): 462.

¹⁸⁴ We do not know exactly when a Marian image was incorporated into the *Inchinata* procession. The *Madonna delle Grazie* dates to the second half of the thirteenth century, while the *Trittico del Salvatore* and the procession itself likely date to the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Since there is eleventh-century literary evidence (discussed in the previous chapter) of an encounter between the Lateran *Acheropita* and a Marian image in the Roman Assumption procession, it seems likely that such a ritual also occurred in Tivoli's procession from an early date. It is possible that originally a different icon was used in the *Inchinata* which the *Madonna delle Grazie* later substituted, or that the *Madonna delle Grazie* itself was a repainting of an earlier image.

Christian past, and there seems to be little doubt that this played a role in the medieval and early modern conception of the *Inchinata* procession as a venerable and potent communal ritual act.

After the bowing ritual in the piazza of Sta. Maria Maggiore, the two icons are carried into the church, the Virgin following her son. The images are left on display in the nave for the veneration of the faithful. While this brings a close to the night's events, the spectacle of the *Inchinata* procession is not yet finished. Another important Early Christian cult site in the city has yet to be encountered, but that will occur during the second leg of the Savior's journey. In his work on medieval processions in Florence, Franklin Toker demonstrated that in medieval Florence, the rogation processions were sometimes performed as a series of circuits, made in different parts of the city on different days. Together they encompassed the urban community as a whole.¹⁸⁵ In a sense, the same thing occurs in Tivoli with the *Inchinata*. The nocturnal procession only arrives two-thirds of the way around the city. The next morning, after mass is said in Sta. Maria Maggiore and the ritual bowing between the icons is repeated, the circuit is completed when the procession continues, making its way to the Duomo to bring the *Trittico del Salvatore* back to its home. According to Zappi's account, the exact same procedure was followed in the sixteenth century.¹⁸⁶

Adhering to our circular model, the procession today exits the piazza of Sta. Maria Maggiore and turns left onto Via della Missione to move in a northwest direction toward Piazza dell'Annunziata. From here it turns left and continues along Via Mauro, which it follows northward, turning onto Via Postera and arriving finally in Piazza del Duomo where it enters the cathedral. Since the topography and structural fabric of this part of the city is exactly the same

¹⁸⁵ Toker, *On Holy Ground*, 119-121.

¹⁸⁶ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 85.

now as it was in the Middle Ages, the medieval procession probably followed the same route. It may have, however, followed Via Campitelli, which is another medieval street, parallel to Via Maura, running in the direction of the Duomo. For almost the entire return trip, from Piazza Annunziata to the cathedral, the procession in the Middle Ages followed the Roman walls that still stood at that time although partially inglobed in later medieval structures.¹⁸⁷ This route also took the procession past (on Via Campitelli, directly in front of) the church of S. Pietro [fig 9, L], which is located about halfway down Via Campitelli, its façade facing the street and its apse jutting into what is now the north side of the gardens of Villa D'Este.

The antiquity of this church (today Orthodox but in the Middle Ages a Catholic collegiate church)¹⁸⁸ is considerable, first appearing in the *Liber Pontificalis* in the Life of Leo III (795-816) as *S. Petrus Major*.¹⁸⁹ Archeological excavations under the current Romanesque church have in fact found an earlier church dating to the eighth century.¹⁹⁰ S. Pietro was one of the three churches believed locally to have been founded in the fifth century by Pope Simplicius.¹⁹¹ So it

¹⁸⁷ Parts of this wall were evidently still standing in Zappi's time. He mentions a section of it at the church of S. Pietro (*Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 56). In the twentieth century Giuliani excavated this very section of wall adjacent to the church (Giuliani, *Tibur. Pars Prima*, 70-71).

¹⁸⁸ For the history of the church: Marcello de Vita, "Il restauro della chiesa di S. Pietro in Tivoli o della Carità," *AMSTSA* 25 (1952): 149-159; Francesco Ferruti, "Prime osservazioni sulla chiesa di S. Pietro alla Carità a Tivoli," *AMSTSA* 74 (2001): 117-53; and Franco Sciarretta, *S. Pietro e la nascita delle prime comunità cristiane nel territorio di Tivoli* (Tivoli: Tiburis Artistica, 2003), 67-70.

¹⁸⁹ Immediately following a reference to Tivoli's basilica of St Lawrence ("Isem vero santissimus praesul fecit in basilica beati Laurentii martyris sita infra civitatem Tiburtinam vestem de stauraci"), the text continues, "fecit et in oratorio sancti Stephani a sancto Petro quae appellatur Maiorem vestem de stauraci" (Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, 2:13).

¹⁹⁰ De Vita, "Chiesa di S. Pietro," 150, 154; Pacifici, *Tivoli nel medio-evo*, 120, n. 2; Isa Belli Barsali, "Problemi dell'abitato di Tivoli nell'alto medioevo," 141-42; Zaccaria Mari, "Medio Evo," in *Per un museo di Tivoli e della valle dell'Aniene*, eds. Cairoli Fulvio Giuliani *et al* (Tivoli: l'Associazione per l'istituzione del museo, 1993), 123; Ferruti, "Chiesa di S. Pietro," 120; Sciarretta, *S. Pietro*, 68-69.

¹⁹¹ Nicodemi, *Storia di Tivoli*, 104: "Nec Romam augens Tiburi patriae suae defuit; nam et templum S. Mariae Majoris satis insigne exaedificasse, et SS.mae Virginis imagine a B. Luca Evangelista depicta exornasse fertur. Praeterea templum S. Petro Apostolo ornatissimum, aliud etiam S. Silvestro haud ignobile extulisse traditur. Cathedralem vero aedem sacrosancti Salvatoris nostri ab eodem Evangelista ad vivum expressa imagine auxit."

is interesting that more recent excavations have revealed underneath the early medieval church a late antique or Early Christian *memoria* or shrine.¹⁹² Scholars who have studied the archeological findings in the context of the written sources believe the structure may have been built in memory of St Peter, who was said to have preached in the territory and to whom a number of other ancient cult sites were dedicated here; then over the centuries newer structures were built on top of the shrine, keeping the memory of the original dedication (just as at the site of St Peter's basilica in Rome).¹⁹³ Considering the prevalence of Early Christian and early medieval churches and shrines dedicated to St Peter in the territory of Tivoli, we can presume that the Tiburtini of the later Middle Ages held a special reverence for its *ecclesia sancti Petri Maioris*, possibly the most ancient and venerable cult site in the city's Christian history. For the medieval Tiburtini, the church could also have evoked the venerability and spiritual authority of St Peter's in Rome, a city with which Tivoli was in constant competition. Thus, what more effective way to sanctify and "authorize" the Savior icon's journey in the local *Inchinata* than to incorporate this cult site into the annual procession route?

3.4 COMPARING THE ASSUMPTION PROCESSIONS IN TIVOLI AND ROME

A comparison of the route and modes of progression of Tivoli's Assumption procession to those of Rome's offers insights into the ways in which Tivoli's rite was a direct heir to the

¹⁹² The structure is called in Italian a *cella memoria a tricora* ("tri-lobed *cella memoria*"). The excavations were carried out in the 1950s but not formally published. For discussion, see sources cited in the following note.

¹⁹³ A. Persili, "La chiesa del Beato Pietro Apostolo 'inter duos ludes' alla origini del Christianesimo in Tivoli," *AMSTSA* 43 (1970): 46; Barsali, "Problemi dell'abitato di Tivoli," 141-142; C. Pierattini, "L'eredità dell'arte medioevale tiburtina," *AMSTSA* 52 (1979): 242; Ferruti, "Chiesa di S. Pietro," 118-121; Sciarretta, *S. Pietro*, 69-74.

conception and meaning of Rome's procession, and the ways in which it differed and was location-specific, essentially becoming a new civic and liturgical tradition in its own right.

Sible de Blaauw's analysis of the medieval Roman procession route demonstrates that that city's Assumption procession combined elements of the *cortege*, or papal stational liturgy, with elements of the *letania*, or supplicatory procession.¹⁹⁴ The former, which had its roots in the ancient imperial triumphal processions, involved ceremonial movement from the Lateran palace to the various stational churches and back to the palace. These processions focused attention on specific personages: the pope, cardinals, archbishops and other clerical elites. The routes included major monuments from the city's ancient history. According to de Blaauw, "The explicit reference to the great monuments of the Roman passed along the routes in Benedict's text ...is obviously intended to deepen the historical perspective and to enhance the ritual status of the pope's urban appearances."¹⁹⁵ Among the ancient Roman monuments passed or actively incorporated into the medieval Roman Assumption procession included the Colosseum, the Arch of Constantine, the Arch of Titus, and the church of Sant' Adriano in the forum, once the ancient senate seat.

The Roman *letania* (a descendent of the pagan *robigo* celebration) as set forth by Pope Sergius I (687-710) made a procession from Sant' Adriano to the basilica of Sta. Maria

¹⁹⁴ De Blaauw, "Contrasts in Processional Liturgy," 357-394. See also John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), 159-166; and Victor Saxer, "L'utilisation par la liturgie de l'espace urbain et suburbain: l'exemple de Rome dans l'antiquité et le haut moyen âge," in *Actes du XIe Congrès international d'Archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève, Aosta, 21-28 septembre 1986*, II (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1989), 917-1031, esp. 952-980.

¹⁹⁵ De Blaauw, "Contrasts in Processional Liturgy," 370. He is referring here to Canon Benedict's description of the Assumption procession, which I discussed in the previous chapter (*Ordo romanus*, Vatican library, MS Vat. Lat. 8486, 1140-43).

Maggiore.¹⁹⁶ Connecting part of the *via papae* with the usual route of the other Marian feasts, the Roman Assumption procession “became a mixture of triumphal *adventus* and supplication.”¹⁹⁷

Tivoli’s *Inchinata* too has elements of both processional traditions. As I have demonstrated, its route included numerous ancient and Early Christian sites and monuments (the Roman-period forum with its supposed Temple of Hercules Victor, the “Temple of the Sibyl,” the site of St. Sinforosa’s martyrdom at the falls of the Anio, the churches of S. Vincenzo and S. Pietro). As in Rome, the inclusion of these historical landmarks likely functioned to recall the city’s illustrious and pious past. In doing this, Tivoli may have been competing with Rome. It is interesting to consider that a number of important Tiburtine churches bear the same dedications as principle Roman basilicas (S. Lorenzo, S. Paolo [no-longer extant], S. Pietro, Sta. Maria Maggiore), and that most of them are included in the Tiburtine procession. It appears that the Tiburtini established a matrix or ritual space around these monuments that imitated the sacred geography of Rome but emphasized *local* history and mythology.

Overall, however, “triumphal” elements do not seem to factor large in Tivoli’s *Inchinata*. The event has more in common with the supplicatory or *letania* rather than *cortege* elements of Rome’s Assumption procession. The *Inchinata* was a participatory procession in which the entire population engaged, intoning hymns and prayers throughout, instead of a showcase of the ecclesiastical pomp and power of specific individuals. As in the Roman Assumption procession, all participants of the *Inchinata*, irrespective of status or class (including the bishop), progressed on foot rather than on horseback, which was more typical of the *cortege*.

A difference between the processions in the two cities is that while Rome’s took on a civic character only in its later history (beginning around the twelfth century), Tivoli’s probably

¹⁹⁶ De Blaauw, “Contrasts in Processional Liturgy,” 383; Parlato, “Le icone in processione,” 72.

¹⁹⁷ De Blaauw, “Contrasts in Processional Liturgy,” 383.

had that civic character from the very beginning. This is evident in both the route of the *Inchinata* and its rituals with the icon. As I demonstrated in the previous sections of this chapter, the *Inchinata* has a circular route. The procession made an almost complete circuit of the city walls and approached or performed a ritual at the city gates, a factor surely not accidental: Porta Maggiore stood next to the Duomo/Roman forum, the procession's starting point; Porta Cornuta on the other side of the bridge of the "acropolis" was the site of the four-phase turning ritual with the icon and ceremonial candle throwing; Porta S. Giovanni/Porta dei Prati, where the hospital of S. Giovanni stands was the location of the foot washing ritual; and Porta Avenzia stood near the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, the site of the climactic bowing ritual between the *Trittico del Salvatore* and the icon of the Madonna. Thus, clearly the procession route was designed not just to process through, but to *encompass* the commune, articulating its four *contrade* and its defensive walls and imbuing its portals with symbolic significance.

The route of Rome's Assumption procession, on the other hand, did not follow the walls, and no rituals took place at its city gates. In other words, the procession did not attempt to circumambulate the community. Rather, largely deriving its route from triumphal processions and the stational liturgy, the procession followed a route that was originally established to trace a constellation of specific, strategic churches and historical landmarks that reinforced papal glory and authority. While key sacred and historic sites incorporated into Tivoli's *Inchinata* route were without question deeply connected to the meaning and power of the procession, there was an overarching emphasis on a circular journey around the perimeter of the city, which reveals the strong influence of ancient rogation rites.

This fact leads us to examine the question of why the route of the *Inchinata* procession had this character. The answer most likely relates to the circumstances of its origins, which

differed from those of Rome's procession. As argued in the previous chapter the *Inchinata* procession (along with the other Assumption processions in cities and towns around Lazio) probably began around the early twelfth century as a result of a papal campaign to export and codify Roman liturgical practices in central Italy, thereby ensuring episcopal loyalty and church unity. However, since this was also the period of the birth of the Italian commune, individual cities were establishing their political independence and civic identity. Furthermore, some of these communes, especially Tivoli, had very tense on-going political and religious relations with Rome (Tivoli was after all, a stronghold of Frederick Barbarossa and resolutely Ghibelline). In fact, the early twelfth century was the precise moment at which the municipality of Tivoli achieved the apex of its political autonomy and military might. Therefore, it would not be surprising if new liturgical institutions introduced here quickly gained a civic character. The establishment of a processional route which clearly and emphatically marked the boundaries of the commune and tied together its four municipal *contrade* in an apotropaic circumambulation rite reveals a strong civic impetus. This is underscored by the ritual on the bridge of the Anio wherein the Savior triptych is systematically made to face the four cardinal directions in turn while the bishop recites supplicatory prayers, each of whose verses are followed by the same response from the people: "Let there be peace within your walls and abundance in your city." This ceremony has no parallel in Rome's procession. It is also instructive to consider that until 1256 when Pope Clement retained the right, after Rome's conquest of Tivoli, to name bishops to the Tiburtine diocese, Tivoli exercised that right itself,¹⁹⁸ and we can presume, appointed its own citizens to the office. This means that with local bishops as mediators, Tivoli's *Inchinata* could

¹⁹⁸ The papal intervention in the naming of Tiburtine bishop dates to 1256 and is recorded in the register of Clement IV. See M. Edouard Jordan, ed., *Les registres de Clément IV, 1265-1268* (Paris: Thorin & Fils, 1893-1845), n. 189, 48-49.

have had a local character from its very inception, in contrast to Rome where the much older Assumption procession originated under papal auspices in the ninth century and remained under papal control for the next 400 years.

Rome established itself as a republic in the mid twelfth century with the resurrection of its Senate and re-invigoration of municipal life. This affected a number of features of its Assumption procession, such as its organization by the commune and the prominent participation of lay confraternities and trade guilds. The procession, as in Tivoli, became a potent expression of civic identity.¹⁹⁹ The Roman procession, nevertheless, must have retained elements of its ancient origins and of papal authority and presence. In fact, the increasing civic character of the event and the threat that that may have posed to the papacy in the Counter Reformation period may have been one of the reasons the Roman procession was banned by Pius V (1566-1572).

The Roman procession's route, deriving in part from the *cortege*, was one vestige of the ritual's papal origins. Relatedly, throughout the later Middle Ages and Renaissance the Lateran *Acheropita* icon, residing in the *Sancta Sanctorum* in the Lateran palace, probably retained papal associations that I believe were less present in its Laziale replicas. In the early Middle Ages it was the popes after all, such as Stephen II and Leo IV, who instituted Rome's supplicatory processions and led them in times of crisis, carrying the *Acheropita* on their own shoulders for all to witness. The late medieval Laziale replicas did not have this history. Thus, while the Roman procession gained a stronger civic character over time, especially through the featured participation of the prestigious *Raccomandati del Salvatore* confraternity, the *Acheropita* was always a more direct heir to the Roman tradition of imperial processional portraits from which it in part derived than the much later twelfth- and thirteenth-century replicas which represented less

¹⁹⁹ For the civic character of the Roman procession and the *Acheropita*, see Noreen, "Sacred Memory and Confraternal Space."

temporal and historical continuity with the imperial “archetype”.²⁰⁰ While the Lazio replicas were surely produced in response to the Roman cult of the *Acheropita*, we must consider that this production occurred in a time of intense political reorganization and urban development in the region. These images became the *palladia* of individual communities that looked to their own histories and traditions to give the icons life and meaning.

3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have sought to establish that in the Middle Ages, Tivoli’s *Trittico del Salvatore* functioned as a protective apotropaic device and that the *Inchinata* procession in which it was annually carried was a markedly civic ritual staged to perpetuate communal memory and protect the city from spiritual and physical dangers. By examining the city’s historic topography and literary sources, I demonstrated that the route of today’s *Inchinata* was most likely the original one, which allowed me to analyze the medieval procession in its spatial and architectural context. Likewise, by demonstrating that key elements of today’s liturgy for the procession are the same as or derive from medieval rogation processions, the medieval Roman Assumption procession, and the medieval office for the vigil of the Assumption, I was able to examine the rituals of the *Inchinata* as they may have been originally conceived and performed.

The circular route of the *Inchinata*, encompassing the inhabited area of the medieval city and following the walls and gates as they once stood underscores the apotropaic nature of the procession and the influence of the medieval rogations, which in turn derived from the Roman *robigo* rituals carried out to invoke the favor of the gods on the crops. The apotropaic

²⁰⁰ For a discussion of the Lateran *Acheropita* and the imperial “archetype”, see Parlato, “Le icone in processione,” 70-71.

character of the procession and its connection to the rogations is further revealed by the geometric scheme of its beginning and end sites and its two ritual stopping points. Together these points (the Duomo at the west, the “Acropolis” at the north, the church and hospital of S. Giovanni at the east, and the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore at the south) superimpose a rough cross shape on the city and form a four-point matrix that sacralizes the community at the four directions.

The *Inchinata* was adapted to the specific topography of Tivoli and was conceptualized through the lens of local history, both real and legendary. This is evident in the manner in which the procession route is defined by the Duomo, the Acropolis, S. Vincenzo, Sta. Maria Maggiore, and S. Pietro with their rich associations with Early Christian martyrs, celebrated prophecies, protector-saints, and miraculous images. This demonstrates that while the *Inchinata* was originally inspired by Rome’s Assumption procession and contains elements of rogation processions as practiced in many places in Europe in the Middle Ages, the Tiburtine procession was a unique, location-specific event that functioned as a potent expression of communal identity, especially within its tense and competitive relationship with Rome.

4.0 EVOLVING TOPOGRAPHY, EVOLVING SYMBOLISM: THE PROCESSION AS PILGRIMAGE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Around the middle of the thirteenth century, in response to new civic and religious institutions, the urban topography of Tivoli began to change. With these changes new layers of meaning seem to have evolved for the *Inchinata* procession. Models of religiosity that emerged with the presence of Franciscan and Dominican mendicant communities in the city sparked the founding of religious lay societies and charitable institutions, as happened all over central Italy in this period.²⁰¹ These institutions transformed the urban fabric, altering the character of the *Inchinata* procession route.

²⁰¹ For the confraternities in central Italy and their relationship with the mendicants: Leon Kern, "Notes sur la fondation de la confrerie des recommandes a la Vierge et ses rapports avec les flagellanti," in *Il movimento dei disciplinati nel settimo centenario dal suo inizio. Convegno internazionale: Perugia, 25-28 settembre 1960* (Spoleto: Panetto & Petrelli, 1962), 253-256; Giovanna Casagrande, "Penitenti e disciplinati a Perugia e loro rapporti con gli ordini mendicanti," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome* 89 (1977): 711-721; Ugolino Nicholini, ed., *Francescanesimo e società cittadina: l'esempio di Perugia*, ed. Ugolino Nicholini (Perugia: S. Maria degli Angeli, 1979); Giovanna Casagrande, "La recente storiografia umbra sulle confraternite. Prospettive di ricerca," *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa XVII-XVIII* (1980): 135-144; Luigi Pellegrini, *Francescanesimo e vita religiosa dei laici nell'200. Atti dell'VII Congresso della Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani: Assisi, 16-18 ottobre 1980* (Assisi: Università degli studi di Perugia, 1981); Anna Esposito, "Le 'Confraternite' del Gonfalone (secoli XIV-XV)," *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5 (1984): 91-136; Luigi Pellegrini, ed., *Insedimenti francescani nell'Italia del duecento* (Rome: Laurentianum, 1984); Giulia Barone, "Il movimento francescano e la nascita delle confraternite romane," *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5 (1984): 71ff; Paola Pavan, "La Confraternita del Salvatore nella società romana del tre-quattrocento," *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5 (1984): 81-90; Vittorio Giorgetti, ed., *Chiese e conventi degli ordini mendicanti in Umbria nei secoli XII-XIV* (Perugia: Editrice umbra cooperativa, 1987); Roberto Rusconi, "Confraternite, compagnie e devozioni," in *Storia d'Italia. Annali 9. La chiesa e il potere politico dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea*, eds. Giovanni Miccoli and Giorgio Chittolini (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1989), 469-506; Wisch, "Keys to Success: Propriety and Promotion of Miraculous Images by Roman Confraternities."

In this chapter I will argue that the new topography and religious impulses of the urban laity added a new emphasis of penance, service, and charity to the supplicatory and salvific message of the *Inchinata* procession. For procession participants moving through this new landscape the ubiquitous hospitals and lay institutions would have raised and reinforced consciousness of Jesus' New Testament role as a model of Christian love and charity. In providing "stage sets" for its ritual stops, the charitable institutions represented an evolving conception of the purpose of the procession and the meaning of its main protagonist—the *Trittico del Salvatore*. The *palladium* now, in addition to civic protector and mediator, functioned as a kind of exemplar of contemporary Christian conduct. In this role, the Savior, through his material effigy, could have been conceived of as a pilgrim who, during his pious journey in the Assumption procession, received the very mercy, shelter, and succor that he taught during his earthly ministry and which the mendicant friars and their associated confraternities and other lay societies now sought to emulate. Put another way, in the words of Gerard Nijsten in reference to medieval civic spectacles: "the ruling elite's model *of* reality was also a model *for* reality in that they used it to shape the town to their own idea of what a town and its citizens should be."²⁰² While the previous chapter explored the apotropaic function of Tivoli's *Inchinata* process, this chapter explores its prescriptive function as a kind of mobile morality play, or allegorical "pilgrimage."

²⁰² Gerard Nijsten, "Feasts and Public Spectacle: Late Medieval Drama and Performance in the Low Countries," in *The Stage as Mirror: Civic Theatre in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Alan E. Knight (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), 126. In late medieval Tivoli, the *Inchinata* was organized by and featured the bishop and episcopal canons, the municipal rulers, and the bourgeois professional classes, so the procession was shaped by the "ruling elite" in the sense that Nijsten means.

4.2 THE EMERGENCE OF THE MENDICANTS AND CONFRATERNITIES

The appearance of the Franciscan and Dominican orders in the early thirteenth century introduced new conceptions of religious devotion and personal spirituality expressed through discipline and charity. By mid century these new models had gained a strong following in urban populations and sparked the founding of lay confraternities or societies, often organized around trade guilds.²⁰³ These confraternities, associated with specific mendicant communities but independent from the institutional church, dedicated themselves to the new mendicant ideals of penance and charitable works. They practiced public and private discipline, founded and operated hospitals, provided aid for the poor and the needy, and devoted themselves to the veneration and maintenance of sacred images. With their vigorous public activity, the confraternities transformed both urban life and the ritual role of devotional images.

The earliest recorded lay confraternity in Tivoli is the Confraternita del Annunziata, also known as the *Societas Recommendatorum gloriose beate Marie Virginis*.²⁰⁴ It is first referred to in surviving records in 1321.²⁰⁵ Its seat was the Ospedale di Annunziata and its church, which are first mentioned in 1348²⁰⁶ and are described in 1366 as being reconstructed in the Santa Croce

²⁰³ For the constitution of Italian confraternities in the Middle Ages and early modern period, see Christopher F. Black, "Confraternities: What, Where, For Whom?" chp. 2 of *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 23-57.

²⁰⁴ For the history and documentary sources on this confraternity: M. Petrocchi, "La Confraternita dell'Annunziata in Tivoli," *AMSTSA* 32-33 (1959-60): 75-79; Cristina Carbonetti Vendittelli and Sandro Carocci, *Le fonti per la storia locale: il caso di Tivoli. Produzione, conservazione e ricerca della documentazione medievale* (Rome, 1984), 122-127; Renzo Mosti, "Istituti assistenziali," *AMSTSA* 54 (1981): 94-97.167-176; and Carocci, *Tivoli nel basso medioevo*, 148-149.

²⁰⁵ In this year the confraternity is mentioned in a legal document in the notary registers of the commune, copied in the late eighteenth-century by Gian Carlo Ansaloni. Ansaloni's redaction of the document is housed today in Rome in the Archivio generale della Congregazione della Missione (ACM, 5.5.1, f. 127).

²⁰⁶ Rome, Archivio della Curia Generalizia dei Frati Minori, Archivio di S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, cass. 25, n. 25.

neighborhood (where it still survives today in Piazza Annunziata).²⁰⁷ The introduction of the confraternity statutes, renewed in 1512, states that the purpose of the society was to exercise charity, promote devotion, help the poor, and maintain the cult of the Virgin.²⁰⁸ According to the statutes, among the obligations of the members, in addition to managing the hospital, were to practice discipline, meet every Sunday for mass, fast every Saturday or give alms in church, recite 15 *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Marias* every day for the remission of sins and for the souls of the deceased brethren, and make an annual donation of eight *soldi*. If the members did not adhere to these obligations or were disobedient to the prior, the latter was authorized to mete out severe penalties, including putting the offenders in leg-irons as both a punishment and to serve as an example to their peers (“*possa punire et meterli in ferri in piedi per esser’ ad esso castigo e dell’altri terrore et exempio*”).

In the seventeenth century, canon Francesco Marzi recorded that the confraternity was responsible for,

in particular hospitality, providing the poor and sick with all necessities, administering alms daily, receiving pilgrims and treating them with much charity, burying the dead, caring for the poor with abundant subsidies, arranging marriages for poor spinsters and giving them houses and vineyards, raising children in the hospital, maintained in faith and with every ardor of Christian dilection, comforting those condemned to death, and procuring peace between enemies and accord between opponents.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷ ACM, 5.5.1, ff. 9-10.

²⁰⁸ Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 4477.

²⁰⁹ Marzi’s description is recorded in a late eighteenth-/early nineteenth-century unpublished history of Tivoli by Gian Carlo Ansaloni: *Storia del Lazio e della diocesi tiburtina* (Rome, Archivio Generale della Congregazione della Missione, 13.3.20, anno 1303).

A century earlier, Giovanni Zappi mentions the Confraternity of the Annunziata among the confraternities that participated in the *Inchinata* procession, each carrying a colorful ceremonial candle.²¹⁰

The other Tiburtine confraternity documented in the fourteenth century is the *Confraternita del Salvatore*, which had its seat in the Duomo and was organized around the cult of the *Trittico del Salvatore*. As mentioned in chapter two, the municipal statutes of the year 1305 contain a penalty for fighting in public on certain occasions, including “when the men go with the Savior in procession.”²¹¹ This hints at the existence of the confraternity at least by the early fourteenth century. The *Confraternita del Salvatore* is mentioned by name in texts from the 1380s.²¹² Surviving records for the confraternity in the Middle Age are few, but their activities were likely similar to those of its sister society in Rome—the *Società dei Raccomandati del Salvatore*—founded around the cult of the Lateran *Acheropita* icon. The prologue of the Roman society’s 1331 statutes²¹³ declares the society’s charitable character in its reference to the Good Samaritan,²¹⁴ while chapter XIV outlines the responsibility of the members to visit the poor and sick at the hospitals the confraternity founded and operated at the Lateran and Colosseum.²¹⁵ A

²¹⁰ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 83. See also appendix E.

²¹¹ ACT, Sezione Preunitarie, *Statuto del 1305*, n. 1 bis, f. 83v. See appendix A.

²¹² ASR, Ospedale del Salvatore, cass. 445, n. 14; ACT, Sezione Preunitarie, *Testamentum*, f. 147v.

²¹³ The 1331 statutes are recorded in a 1419 redaction by Nicola Signorile, secretary of the confraternity (ASR, Ospedale del Salvatore, vol. 1006, ff. 5r-19r).

²¹⁴ “Quia, testante sacro eloquio, uni Deo creatori, salvatori nostro adherere, congruere ac parere debemus, sibi etiam conformari, addicari ac lege evangelica obligari, nichilominus ad tanta beneficia non ingrata, nos infrascripti Romani cives super hec aliquid cum Samaritano addere cupientes ad laudem et reverentiam summi patris et conservationis nostre regimen et salutem dicteque devote congregationis proficuum incrementum diligenti ac salubri dispositione decernimus ad statuta inferius denotata dumtaxat et non ad penam spiritualem aliam perpetuo alligari.”

²¹⁵ “Item quod dicti guardiani teneantur et debeant proprio iuramento, ipsi ambo vel alter ipsorum, ad minus semel in ebdomada durante ipsorum officio requirere et visitare hospitale Sancti Angeli prope Lateranum et hospitale Sancti Iacobi de Coliseo, si pauperes infirmi et alie persone stantes in illis sint bene tractati aut non et si habent necessaria

1462 chronicle of the confraternity's activities further elaborates on these charitable occupations, specifying that the purpose of the Lateran hospital was to receive pilgrims, the poor, and the sick, to heal the body and mind, and to bury the dead.²¹⁶

The Roman confraternity's earliest statutes also declare the responsibility of caring for the *Acheropita* Savior icon in the *Sancta Sanctorum* and carrying it in the Assumption procession of August 14-15.²¹⁷ Similarly, Giovanni Zappi describes Tivoli's *Confraternita del Salvatore*—the “noblest” confraternity of the city—taking its place in the August 14 procession of the eve of the Assumption with the litter of the Savior icon, accompanied by all the “lords, officials, and magistrates of the city.”²¹⁸

eorumdem, ac facere et procurare in effectua quod de bonis et rebus dicte sotietatis, prout dicte sotietatis suppetunt facultates, eis oportuna et necessaria ministrentur.”

²¹⁶ ASR, Ospedale del Salvatore, vol. 1009, ff 8-9. The function of the hospital is defined, “hospitalitatis et misericordie opus, videlicet de recipiendis peregrinis et egrotis...ut ad salutem reducantur corporalem et anime si fieri potest.” The hospital also provided chapels “pro inducendis peccatoribus ad penitentiam et confessionem et alia ecclesiastica sacramenta, ut etiam veram accipiant salutem venientes ad hoc refugium pauperum, hospitale misericordie et Dei locum et inde adducantur ad hospitium paradisi...necnon ad celebrandum missas...et ad sepeliendum corpora defunctorum cum cerimonia ab ecclesia ordinata et creatori Deo defunctorum animas commendandum.”

²¹⁷ ASR, Ospedale del Salvatore, vol. 1006, chp. II: “Item quod omnes de dicta recomendatione tam clerici quam layci teneantur salva legitima excusatione devote et personaliter convenire et interesse omnibus aperturis et clausuris predictae imaginis Salvatoris, cum faculis accensis dimidie libre ad minus in manibus et processionaliter clerici ac layci pariter, ipsi layci induti de uno colore panni, ante ipsam ymaginem Salvatoris eundo, quando in festo Assumptionis beate Marie virginis ipsa ymago defertur ad ecclesiam Sancte Marie Maioris et cum ad basilicam ad Sancta Sanctorum reportatur in mane teneantur accedere, sub pena viginti solidorum, ad honorem et laudem Salvatoris et sue gloriosissime genitricis.”

²¹⁸ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 83. See appendix E.

4.3 THE FIRST HOSPITALS

Charitable hospitals are documented in Tivoli from the late thirteenth century.²¹⁹

Religious lay societies and pious individuals, dedicated to charity and good works, built and operated hospitals throughout the city for the poor, the sick, and weary pilgrims. These new charitable institutions were concentrated at the gates and adjacent roads, creating a ring around the city. They consequently could have given a new character—a character of pilgrimage—to the route of the *Inchinata* processions, along which they emerged.

A characterization of the *Trittico del Salvatore* as “pilgrim” was first introduced in the literature by Vincenzo Pacifici in 1929.²²⁰ Pacifici, however, did not cite any historical sources for this interpretation or attempt to contextualize it within the contemporary cultural milieu or larger topographical scheme of the historic city. Nevertheless, it is an insightful interpretation that bears further exploration. Indeed, the topographic, historical, and liturgical evidence supports this model for the late medieval *Inchinata*.

Between the early fourteenth and early sixteenth century the route of the *Inchinata* procession was lined with charitable institutions. Beginning at the Duomo and following the procession route we find (with the date of the earliest surviving documentary record in parentheses): Ospedale in Mercato (1376) on the west flank of the Duomo [fig 10, A]; Ospedale di Cornuta (1292), then Sta. Maria del Ponte (1442) on the east bank of the Anio, on the other side of the bridge and adjacent to Porta Cornuta [fig 10, B]; Ospedale di Via Maggiore (1336) [fig 10, C] and Ospedale Sta. Maria Nova (1338) [fig 10, D] on today’s Via Domenico Giuliani,

²¹⁹ For the documentation and critical commentary on Tivoli’s hospitals in the Middle Ages and early modern period, see Mosti, “Istituti assistenziali e ospitalieri.”

²²⁰ Pacifici, “L’*Inchinata*.”

running southeast parallel to the Anio; Ospedale dello Spirito Santo (1337), then Ospedale S. Giovanni Evangelista (1424) at Porta S. Giovanni [fig 10, E]; Ospedale di S. Leonardo (1337) [fig 10, F] and Ospedale S. Onofrio (1404) [fig 10, G] on Via Colsereno; Ospedale di S. Giacomo (1320) at Porta Avenzia [fig 10, H]; Ospedale di S. Angelo (1364) on Via della Missione halfway between Porta Avenzia and Piazza Annunziata [fig 10, I]; Ospedale dell'Annunziata (1388) in Piazza Annunziata [fig 10, J]; and finally, Ospedale di S. Cleto (1363) at the top of Via del Colle near Porta Maggiore and Piazza del Duomo [fig 10, K]. Of the 12

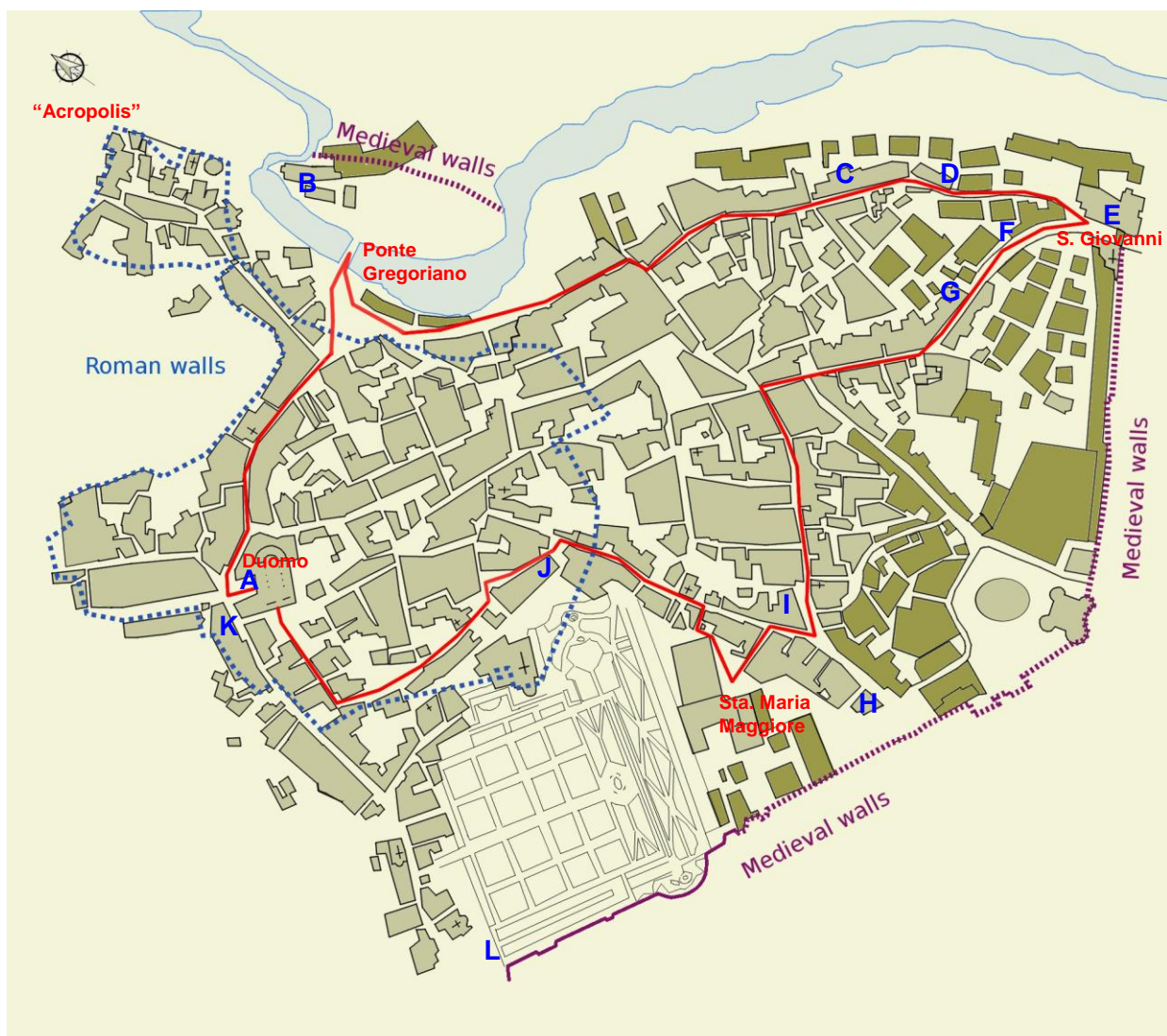


Fig 10. Tivoli's historic medieval center with *Inchinata* procession route and locations of the city's medieval hospitals. Dark green blocks indicate areas of modern expansion. Map, Rebekah Perry.

hospitals documented in Tivoli in the late Middle Ages, 11 of them were on or adjacent to the route of the *Inchinata*. Moreover, every city gate in operation in the late Middle Ages had a hospital: Porta Cornuta (Ospedale di Cornuta, then Sta. Maria del Ponte), Porta S. Giovanni/Porta dei Prati (Ospedale dello Santo Spirito, then Ospedale S. Giovanni), Porta Avenzia (Ospedale di S. Giacomo), and Porta del Colle (Ospedale di S. Antonio) [fig 10, L]. The significance of all of this is that by the fourteenth century the *Inchinata* procession and the *Trittico del Salvatore* were not just making an apotropaic circumambulation of the city walls and gates, or a tour of the principle cult sites related to the city's Early Christian history, but also a circuit of Tivoli's key charitable institutions, particularly those situated at the gates, set up first and foremost to receive pilgrims. It would seem that these institutions factored into the conception and performance of the procession by this time because of the rituals that were performed at some of them, particularly Ospedale S. Giovanni.

As described in the previous chapter, at this hospital the Savior icon's feet were ritually washed by the chaplain of the hospital, a Dominican friar. The hospital at that site appears in written records only from 1337; prior to that it was a church dedicated to St Christopher. Given the antiquity of the foot washing ritual in the Roman Assumption procession, we can presume that this ritual also took place in Tivoli in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and that it took place at the church of St Christopher. Then in the later Middle Ages a shift may have occurred in the conception and performance of the ritual cleansing when the site became one of the city's most prominent hospitals and pilgrim way-stations, presided over by a Dominican community²²¹

²²¹ Zappi's account of the ceremony at Ospedale S. Giovanni specifies that it is a Dominican friar who presides and ritually cleanses the Savior icon's feet (Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 84). See appendix E.

and maintained by the confraternity of San Giovanni Evangelista (which in the early fifteenth century replaced the fourteenth-century hospitalers of S. Spirito at the same site).²²²

Today's liturgy hints at this shift. At the hospital the faithful sing the hymn "Dov'è carità e amore qui c'è Dio" ("Where charity and love are, God is"). This is a modern translation of the early medieval Gregorian hymn *Ubi caritas* which was historically sung as an antiphon when a priest or bishop washed the feet of congregation members on Holy Thursday, or "Maundy Thursday" (the Thursday before Easter).²²³ In the hymn the faithful sing,

Christ's love has united us together: we exult in the Lord! We fear and love the living God, and we love each other with sincere heart. We form here united one body, we will not divide ourselves asunder: away evil quarrels, away discord! And you reign among us Christ God.

After the hymn is sung at this point in the *Inchinata*, a reader recites from the letter of Paul to the Philippians (Philippians 2:6-8) which describes Christ taking on the humble guise of humanity for his earthly ministry:

Jesus Christ, who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.

The second verse of "Dov'è carità e amore" (*Ubi caritas*) is sung and then the reader recites from the Gospel of John the words of Jesus at the Last Supper after he washes the feet of his apostles (John 13:12-15, 17, 34):

If I then, your Lord and master, have washed your feet; you also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that you should do as I have done to you...If you know these things, happy are you if you do them. A new commandment I

²²² For the Tiburtine societies of S. Spirito and S. Giovanni Evangelista, see Mosti, "Istituti assistenziali," 107-120; 147-158.

²²³ See *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1961), II:24-26.

give unto you, that you love one another; as I have loved you, that you also love one another.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Enrico Parlato observed that the foot washing rituals with the Lateran *Acheropita* in the Roman Assumption procession evoked the scene at the house of Simon the Pharisee where Mary Magdalene washes Christ's feet, and as such it had penitential and redemptive symbolism. No doubt we could also say the same for Tivoli's *Inchinata* as it was originally conceived. But let us consider the possibility that in the changing religious and topographical context of later medieval Tivoli, in the *Inchinata*'s foot washing ritual at the hospital of S. Giovanni it was the *other* famous New Testament foot washing scene—that in the verses of John where Christ washes the feet of the apostles at the Last Supper—that would have resonated with the most immediacy in the mind of the spectator. This would represent a shift toward, and a consistency with, the virtues of humility and service that the architectural context of the ritual—the hospital and its functions—represented.

The other rituals performed during the stop at the hospital of S. Giovanni certainly reinforce this conception. When the Savior icon first arrives in the piazza and is set down in front of the hospital door, the prior of the *Confraternita del Salvatore* removes a bundle of flowers secured in the litter at the foot of the icon which he will give to the chaplain of the hospital to distribute among the sick. Approaching the hospital door, the prior of the confraternity kneels on the steps and kisses the threshold.²²⁴ This is the “bacio al dolore,” or “kiss of pain.” Vincenzo Pacifici described the kiss as “a symbol of the power and wealth that bow to misery and

²²⁴ While we do not know how far back in time this particular ritual goes since it is not explicitly described in the historical sources, there is no reason to assume *a priori* it does not have historical origins.

humility, to human anguish that makes all equal, and they kiss it in fraternal ardor of the charity of the Savior.”²²⁵

Pacifici also observed that the washing of the Savior icon’s feet with rosewater represents the “ancient ceremony of homage to the divine guest, to the pilgrim son of God who had come to visit the infirm, barefoot and humble, after a long journey.”²²⁶ In today’s liturgy in fact, the final Gospel reading in the piazza of S. Giovanni after the foot washing ritual with the icon contains verses 35-36 from Matthew, which allegorically characterize Christ as a wanderer in need of succor: Christ speaks to his disciples saying, “I was hungry and you gave me meat: I was thirsty and you gave me drink: I was a stranger and you took me in. Naked and you clothed me; I was sick and you visited me; I was in prison and you came unto me.” The foot washing ritual is especially suggestive that in the role of the “pilgrim,” Christ’s effigy functioned as both the object of Christian mercy and the redemptive power through which that Christian mercy is enacted.

As I noted on several occasions in the previous chapter, no text survives to tell us exactly what the liturgy for the *Inchinata* contained in the late Middle Ages; however, when we consider the rites as performed today and in the sixteenth-century within the context of the procession’s late medieval topography and emerging social institutions, it is difficult to deny that the liturgy performed today likely had its origins in that period. Framing the Savior triptych within the allegorical paradigm of the “wandering stranger,” it is interesting that in the late thirteenth century in front of Porta Cornuta, immediately on the other side of the bridge on which the first ritual with the icon takes place, stood the Ospedale di Cornuta (later Sta. Maria di Cornuta or Sta.

²²⁵ Pacifici, “L’*Inchinata*,” 1429.

²²⁶ Pacifici, “L’*Inchinata*,” 1430.

Maria del Ponte, at the site of today's Hotel Sirene).²²⁷ Additionally, from at least 1320 adjacent to the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore—the destination of the procession and the site of the ritual bowing between the icons—stood the gate Porta Avenzia and the hospital of S. Giacomo.²²⁸

Thus at the two ritual stops and the dramatic finale of the late medieval procession route hospitals provided architectural backdrops. It is instructive to consider that historically there may have been more such ritual stops with the icon. Rome's Assumption procession lasted all night and made numerous stops including multiple foot washings with the icon,²²⁹ so the possibility that Tivoli's procession may have at one time followed a similar model is certainly possible. Vincenzo Pacifici's 1929 description of the *Inchinata* procession included a stop at the convent of Sant'Anna.²³⁰ This now-abandoned tradition could represent a remnant of a more elaborate "pilgrimage" of ritual stops than that which survives today.

4.4 "CHRIST AS PILGRIM" IN POPULAR CULTURE

Besides the liturgy and topography of the route, there are other reasons to consider that by the late Middle Ages the *Inchinata* procession had acquired allegorical overtones of a pilgrim's journey. The conceptualization of "Christ as pilgrim" was a religious metaphor that was expanding at this time in the larger cultural milieu. Twice in the New Testament Christ is portrayed in disguise as a pilgrim or a suffering wanderer. The first time is in Matthew 25:35-36

²²⁷ Mosti, "Istituzioni assistenziali," 102-107; 135-143.

²²⁸ Mosti, "Istituzioni assistenziali," 130-135.

²²⁹ According to the 1462 statutes of the *Società dei Raccomandati del Salvatore*, the Roman procession stopped at S. Clemente, Sta Maria Nuova, Sant'Adriano, SS. Cosma e Damiano, and Sta. Prassede before reaching its destination, the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore (ASR, Ospedale del Salvatore, vol. 1009, anno 1462 (ff. 3r-11v).

²³⁰ Pacifici, "L'Inchinata," 1430.

(which appears in today's liturgy at the foot washing ritual at the hospital of S. Giovanni). The second time is in Luke 24:13-35 in which Christ, after his resurrection, appears to two disciples as a traveler or pilgrim on the road to Emmaus. The disciples realize Christ's identity only after they have shared their supper with him. The allegorical value of the story gained widespread currency in late medieval popular religion. It was read in the medieval liturgy on Easter Monday and often staged as an Easter drama known as the *Peregrinus* play.²³¹ It was also used as a conceit in medieval literature, including in Dante's *Divine Comedy* and *Vita Nuova*.²³²

Christ as pilgrim was also an iconographic conceit frequently used in depictions of the Emmaus story in late medieval central Italian art. These depictions appear in a variety of media. Examples include a fresco (c. 1263) in the church of S. Pellegrino ("St Pilgrim") in Bominaco, a scene painted on a cross in the Museo Nazionale di S. Matteo in Pisa (early thirteenth century); a panel in Duccio's *Maestà* altarpiece in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena (1308-1311), the left wing of a triptych in the Museo Diocesano di Pienza (second half of fourteenth century); and a fresco by Fra Angelico (c. 1441) now in the Museo di San Marco in Florence. In these works Christ is depicted in different variations of the distinctive costume and attributes of a penitential pilgrim: a short hair tunic or poor garment that leaves the breast naked, a broad-brimmed hat, a walking staff, a flask, a scrip inscribed with the shell motif of Santiago di Compostela, and bare feet. In the Fra Angelico fresco in Florence the two disciples in the scene with Christ are, tellingly, depicted as Dominican friars.

While it may not be immediately apparent how the Emmaus/Easter theme related to the Assumption procession, it is crucial to remember the Assumption feast's underlying message of

²³¹ See, for example, "Verses pascales de tres Maries; versus de pelegirino," in *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 83-109.

²³² See Julia Bolton Holloway, "The 'Vita Nuova': Paradigms of Pilgrimage," *Dante Studies* 103 (1985): 103-124.

redemption. In today's liturgy in fact, Tivoli's *Inchinata* procession is immediately preceded by liturgical rites in the Duomo that make explicit reference to Easter. As the Savior triptych is displayed before the congregation to the right of the altar, a reader introduces the celebration with the following sermon,

In the Easter of summer, Easter of Santa Maria, Mother of God, we celebrate with lights and songs of joy the design of love of the Father for his Son Jesus Christ. God the Father desired that his firstborn not know death and corruption and in the empty grave planted a rose bush of life. For love of the only son, in the Holy Spirit he desired that the holy Virgin Mary be assumed into the heaven of heavens, that first flower of the rosebush, to be fully conformed to the Son Jesus. On this night we will contemplate in the face of the Mother of the Lord, in whose image we will venerate in the church of S. Maria Maggiore, the light of the resurrection of the Son and in the Spirit of the Lord Jesus we will glimpse in Maria, *terra della nostra terra*, now glorified in body and soul, the image and the beginning of us Church of God. We will walk orants in communion with she who shines for us pilgrims on earth, that sign of sure hope and consolation.

Thus, in the mind of the *Inchinata* spectator there is a clear doctrinal connection between the Easter message of mercy and redemption and the procession's symbolic journey of the Savior to his awaiting mother. The reunion of the images, in which Mary symbolically departs the suffering of her mortal existence and is received into paradise, is the allegorical fulfillment of Christ's promise to mankind.

4.5 THE GREAT THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PILGRIMAGE REVIVAL

A final factor to consider in the case for a paradigmatic progression of the *Inchinata* procession in the later Middle Ages is the revival of pilgrimage to Rome in this period. Throughout the thirteenth century the papacy, beginning with Innocent III (1198-1216), undertook campaigns to promote pilgrimage to Rome, a practice which had waned during the

previous century.²³³ Innocent III sought to establish Rome as the New Jerusalem and took active steps to “re-brand” it as the top pilgrimage destination. He promoted Rome’s relics, like the Veronica veil at the Vatican and the *Acheropita* icon at the Lateran,²³⁴ and Early Christian saints’ shrines, particularly that of St Peter, whose tomb he remodeled as part of a major building campaign at the basilica. Innocent organized the Fourth Lateran Council in November, 1215, which was the first genuine universal Church council since Chalcedon in 451, and which drew over 1,000 dignitaries from all over Christendom. Innocent also founded the famous Santo Spirito hospital for pilgrims and established it as a new liturgical station. He enacted laws to protect pilgrims who journeyed to Rome, and he suppressed bandits, making travel to Rome safer and easier than it had been during the previous century. Innocent also introduced the first pilgrim badge for Rome.

Innocent III’s successors introduced indulgences for pilgrimage to Rome, which gradually increased in number and value over the course of the thirteenth century. The indulgences ushered in an era of the “penitential pilgrimage,” the ideological basis of which recalls the penitential “journey” made by the faithful in Tivoli’s *Inchinata* procession in this period. According to Victor Turner and Edith Turner,

The Church...began to control pilgrimage as the Middle Ages wore on, especially as its penitential system, rooted in the sacrament of Penance, became more clearly defined and organized. When this system became authoritatively and legally structured, pilgrimages were themselves regarded as adequate punishment for certain crimes.²³⁵

²³³ See Debra J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), 187-202; and Kessler, *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim*.

²³⁴ For example, Innocent III commissioned a silver ceremonial revetment for the *Acheropita*. I will return to this in chapter six.

²³⁵ Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 193-196.

The indulgences, together with the intensified promotion of Rome's relics and the increased difficulty of traveling to the Holy Land when it began to fall to Muslim forces in 1244, resulted in great waves of pilgrimage to the Eternal City in the second half of the thirteenth century. Pilgrims' guides like the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* provided visitors with touring itineraries of the city's great monuments. This phenomenon was crowned by the Jubilee of 1300, established by Boniface VIII (possibly as a response to a popular movement already underway). Pilgrims who made a journey to Rome in that year were promised a plenary indulgence—a remission of sins for visiting the basilicas of St Peter and St Paul at least once a day for 15 days. The response of the faithful of all ages and social rank to the 1300 Jubilee was spectacular. Multiple contemporary accounts describe great crowds of pilgrims and even incidences in which people were crushed to death.²³⁶

In this context it is interesting that in the same year Boniface issued a bull confirming the Assumption procession in Anagni. The bull specifically mentions an image of the Savior (the thirteenth-century *Acheropita* replica now in the Museo del Duomo) being carried in this procession from the collegiate church of Sant'Andrea to the Duomo and back again.²³⁷ While we do not know if a direct relationship existed between the Jubilee of 1300 and the spreading practice (or official papal endorsement) of Assumption processions in Lazio in which Savior panels were ritually carried, at this time, in this region, there does seem to have been a revitalized interest in, and evolving allegorical conception of, pilgrimage practices. It is instructive to

²³⁶ *Annales Gadenses*, MGH.SS 16, 546; *Annales Hales brunnenses maiores*, MHG.22 24, 46; A. Gransden, ed. and trans., *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, 1212-1301 (London, 1964), 155.

²³⁷ BAV, *Incipit registrum litterarum quarti anni domini Bonifatii Pape VIII*, Reg. 49 f. 336 (the bull is published in Georges Digard, ed., *Les registres de Boniface VIII: recueil des bulles de ce pape publiées ou analysées d'après les manuscrits originaux des Archives du Vatican II* [Paris: E. De Boccard, 1939], 799).

consider how that affected the conceptualization of the processional act and the mobile images for which processions were the conduit.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The conception of Christ as an allegorical pilgrim in the collective consciousness of late medieval popular religion was expressed in liturgy, literature and art. While this paradigm was not a late medieval invention (we see depictions of the Emmaus story already in the eleventh century), it was almost certainly intensified and popularized by the advent of the urban Franciscan and Dominican communities which emphasized personal spirituality, humility, penance, and charitable works based directly on the example of Christ in the New Testament (we recall that the two disciples in the Road to Emmaus scene in Fra Angelico's fresco in Florence are depicted as Dominican friars). The role of Tivoli as a prominent pilgrimage way station and the strategic positioning of pilgrimage hospices and charitable institutions along the route of the *Inchinata* procession, and most especially at the city gates, which coincided with ritual ceremonies of the procession, seems to indicate an evolving symbolic meaning of the procession in an evolving urban culture.

In reference to the medieval *Corpus Christi* plays, Keith Lilley remarked that the play was,

a dramatic localized display of a world history, a dramatic species in cosmic form...it was Christ who symbolized this history, the past (creation), present (salvation) and future (judgment) of the world, and by performing these plays on Corpus Christi day the urban body was connecting itself, the spatial and social embodiment of the city, to the wider world.²³⁸

²³⁸ Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 178.

I propose that we can apply the same paradigm to Tivoli's *Inchinata* procession in the late Middle Ages: the city functioned as a microcosm of the larger world and Christ's effigy acting within it functioned as a prescriptive performance, or morality play, for the larger Christian community. Initially conceived of around the early twelfth century as a protector, both as an apotropaic *palladium* in a supplication/rogation-style circumambulation ritual and as a liturgical symbol of Christ's redemption of mankind, Tivoli's *Trittico del Salvatore* in the later thirteenth century began to take on an allegorical function of a new kind. Within an urban landscape that now served as a metaphor for the larger world and the Christian experience, the image became the embodiment of Christ's charity and humility whose "pilgrimage" of pious acts the citizens of Tivoli were encouraged to emulate by popular religion and bourgeois social constructs.

5.0 THE CULT OF THE *MADONNA DELLE GRAZIE* AND THE FRANCISCAN CHURCH OF STA. MARIA MAGGIORE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Adorning the main altar of Tivoli's Franciscan church of Sta. Maria Maggiore is an image of the Virgin known as the *Madonna delle Grazie*.²³⁹ This icon is paired with the *Trittico del Salvatore* in the bowing ritual at the climax of the *Inchinata* procession. The *Madonna delle Grazie* belongs temporally and iconographically to a group of eight Marian icons made in Rome between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries²⁴⁰ as replicas of the much earlier sixth- or seventh-century "Madonna of S. Sisto" or *Monasterium tempuli* icon, today at the Roman convent of Santa Rosario a Monte Mario.²⁴¹

²³⁹ The denomination "delle Grazie" in reference to the image appears for the first time in written records at the occasion of the coronation of the image by Cardinal Mario Mattei on August 17, 1851. For the history of this event as well as facsimiles and discussion of the related documents, see Mezzetti, *Usanze e tradizioni secolari dell'antica Tibur*, 1256-1986.

²⁴⁰ The icons are in the following locations in Rome (the original locations except where noted): Sta. Maria in Aracoeli, Sta. Maria in Campo Marzio, Palazzo Barberini (originally in the oratory of S. Gregorio Nazianzeno at Sta. Maria in Campo Marzio), Sta. Maria in Via Lata, SS. Bonifacio e Alessio, S. Lorenzo in Damaso (originally in Sta. Maria Grotta Pinta), Sta. Susanna, and S. Ambrogio in Massima (now lost but known from a later drawing). Notable additions to this list are the *Madonna Avvocata* icons depicted in wall frescoes in S. Gregorio Nazianzeno and S. Silvestro in Capite. For the literature on these icons: Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 311-329; Belting, "Icons and Roman Society," 27-41; Kitzinger, "A Virgin's Face," 6-19; Tronzo, "Apse Decoration," 167-193; Romano, *Riforma e Tradizione*, 110-13, 117-120, 153-55, 267-69; Parlato, "Le Icone in Processione," 69-92.

²⁴¹ The icon's existence at the *Monasterium Tempuli* convent is documented from the early tenth century. In 1221 the nuns adopted Dominican rule and moved, taking the icon with them, to the convent of S. Sisto. In 1575 the icon moved again to SS. Domenico e Sisto. Since 1931 it has been at the convent of Sta. Rosario a Monte Mario. For the literature on the *Monasterium Tempuli* icon: V.J. Koudelka, *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum* (AFP) 31 (1961): 13ff; Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes*, 47ff; C. Bertelli, "L'immagine del Monasterium Tempuli dopo il restauro," AFP 31 (1965): 82-111; C. Bertelli, *Storia dell'arte italiana* 2.1 (Milan: Electa, 1983), 31.

The *Madonna delle Grazie* has not received focused attention since the mid nineteenth century.²⁴² Yet, as one of the protagonists of Tivoli's *Inchinata* procession, which is widely known and cited in the literature on medieval panel painting and ritual performance in Lazio, and a fascinating case of the intersection of iconography and politics in this region in the late Middle Ages, the image deserves a dedicated critical study. This chapter provides this focused examination of the icon and its cult, framed within Tivoli's unique political, civic, and ecclesiastical history.

Using archival records and a fresh perspective on a variety of primary source material from Tivoli and Rome I will propose explanations for the icon's introduction into the city and its role in the *Inchinata* procession. I will present the following central arguments: 1) that the image functioned as a means for the Franciscans of Tivoli in the mid thirteenth century to establish their authority and presence in a period of civic resistance and monastic rivalries; 2) that from the thirteenth century the icon was associated with Assumption theology and its ritual use in the *Inchinata* procession had medieval origins and was not just a modern invention; and 3) that the image came to function as a civic symbol as the citizens of Tivoli, amidst tensions with the papacy and its own disappointing episcopal leadership, embraced the new Franciscan community.

5.2 THE MATERIAL HISTORY OF THE PAINTING

The *Madonna delle Grazie* is painted in tempera on a walnut panel measuring 103 cm high by 65 cm wide. The center of the panel depicts a half-length image of the Virgin as

²⁴² Melchiorri, *L'immagine di Maria Santissima venerata in Tivoli*.

intercessor. Looking out of the painting, directly at the viewer, Mary turns slightly to her right and raises her bent arms in the same direction, her right hand, palm open, held vertically at her side, and her left hand, also palm open, held at a roughly 45-degree angle in front of her. It is this pose that characterizes the *Madonna Avvocata* or “Advocate Madonna.” This image type ultimately derives from Byzantium and traces its lineage back to the *Haghiosoritissa* icon venerated in the *Haghia Sorós* (“Holy Reliquary”) shrine at the church of the *Chalcoprata* in Constantinople.²⁴³

The figure is clad in a pink robe under a blue mantle edged with gold and decorated with gold quatrefoils. She is set against a gold background, a red halo encircling her head. In the top left corner of the painting the upper body of a diminutive figure of Christ emerges from the edge of the composition. He raises his right arm and hand in a gesture of blessing. In the upper right corner a half-length figure of an angel gestures toward Mary with extended arms. Across the bottom of the panel *Ave gratia plena dominus tecum* is painted in large gold capitals letters. It is the beginning of the angelic salutation spoken by Gabriel to Mary (Luke 1:25), known in English as “Hail Mary.” The Greek letters MP and OV (*Mater Dei*) are inscribed to the left and right of the Virgin’s head. Bordering the picture is a rectangular frame 3cm wide painted to imitate the intricate, multi-colored *opus sectile* mosaic work that was characteristic of the *Cosmati* or Roman stone craftsmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

For most of the twentieth century, the painting was attributed on the basis of its iconography and painting style to the second half of the thirteenth century and possibly to the

²⁴³ For the most thorough recent discussion on the history of the *Haghiosoritissa* icon and the evolution of its image type, see Andaloro, “Note sui temi iconografici della deesis.”

hand of the Roman Franciscan artist Jacopo Torriti or his circle.²⁴⁴ However, a restoration conducted in 1969 by Ilaria Toesca revealed that the painting, in its current physical form, was made much later.²⁴⁵ This conclusion is based on Toesca's observations that while the panel is quite aged, and therefore cannot be recent, certain formal elements of the composition are inconsistent with the securely medieval *Avvocata* panel paintings in Rome. Most notably, the artist of Tivoli's *Madonna delle Grazie* depicts a tiara of alternating pearls and precious stones on the Virgin's head, but interprets it in a manner that makes it appear more like a crown of individual plates that form a neoclassical *turrito* or "turreted" effect. This contrasts with the smooth, regular bands of the tiaras in the medieval icons. In addition, the lower edge of the tiara of Tivoli's *Madonna delle Grazie* has a textile-like fold that makes it appear to be one with her veil, rather than a separate object sitting atop it, as is the case with the medieval Roman *Madonna Avvocate*.

Toesca observed, however, that in other areas of the panel, the composition is much more consistent with medieval tradition, especially in the face of the Virgin and in the unmistakable late medieval pattern-work of the "Cosmatesque" border. She concluded that the existing *Madonna delle Grazie* panel is a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century copy of a thirteenth-century original, from which the artist likely painted directly but misinterpreted in some particulars due to the illegibility of age or the obscuring effect of multiple re-paintings of certain parts of the composition. She suggested that the original painting was copied because of

²⁴⁴ Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes*, 44, 48, 51; J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten*, 1149; Silla Rosa de Angelis, "Una Tavola di Iacopo Torriti," *AMSTSA* 4 (1924): 149; Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana. Il medioevo*, 788; Vincenzo Pacifici, "L'Inchinata," 1438; E.B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: an Illustrated Index* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1948), 70, n. 148; Guglielmo Matthiae, *Pittura romana del Medioevo II* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1966), 245.

²⁴⁵ Ilaria Toesca, "Madonna 'avvocata'," *Mostra dei restauri 1969: 13. settimana dei musei: Palazzo Venezia, Roma, aprile-maggio, 1970* (Rome: Ist. Grafico Tiberino, 1970), 9-11.

advanced deterioration or damage, or perhaps to provide a substitute for the original during a period of danger after which, at some point, it permanently replaced the original.

The original painting may have been ruined when in 1697 the church's bell tower was struck by lightning and crashed into the roof, causing damage to the main altar below. This altar, dedicated in 1592, was rebuilt the next year. A marble plaque on the rear of the upper part of the main altar records the event.²⁴⁶ It is possible the original icon was damaged in the lightning incident but not completely destroyed, and therefore was able to serve as the basis for a copy. It is clear, however, that the existing icon is not an over-painting of an earlier work; radiographic studies conducted in 1969 reveal that there is no older layer underneath.²⁴⁷

In 1924 the local superintendent of historic monuments Silla Rosa De Angelis examined the painting and reported that it was once part of a triptych, citing the presence of iron rings on the sides of the wooden panel that ostensibly once joined it to its wings.²⁴⁸ De Angelis conjectured that the wings had depicted St Francis of Assisi and St Anthony of Padua (figures featured in Jacopo Torriti's mosaics at the Roman basilicas of the Lateran and Sta. Maria Maggiore). Seeing in the juxtaposition of the Virgin and the figure of the gesturing angel a scene of the Annunciation, De Angelis also posited that a tympanum and predella depicting the Coronation and the Assumption, respectively, could have once been part of the triptych.²⁴⁹ Because we know now, however, that the painting he was examining is modern we may presume that any side panels the iron rings may have joined to the central icon belonged to the modern

²⁴⁶ "Deiparae Mariae V. Ac Divo Francisco anno MDXCII. Piorum eleemosynis a fundamentis positum AP.FR. Constantio De Roma Guardiano anno vero MDCXCVII. Fulminis istu percussum benefactorum ope restavrvavit R.P. Fr. Hieron. De Roma Guardianus MDCXCVII."

²⁴⁷ Toesca, "'Madonna 'avvocata'," 10

²⁴⁸ Silla Rosa De Angelis, "Una Tavola di Iacopo Torriti," 150.

²⁴⁹ De Angelis, "Una Tavola di Iacopo Torriti," 151.

work rather than the medieval one. More evidence that the *Madonna delle Grazie* was not originally part of a triptych is provided by the research of Maria Andoloro who has persuasively argued that the iconographic tradition of the single, monumental, half-length image of the *Madonna Avvocata* developed independently from compositional arrangements with other figures, such as the *deesis* which usually features a central figure of Christ, flanked by a full-length figure of the interceding Virgin and a full-length figure of John the Baptist or John the Evangelist (Tivoli's *Trittico del Salvatore* is an example of a *deesis*).²⁵⁰

5.3 HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE *MADONNA DELLE GRAZIE*, THE CHURCH OF STA. MARIA MAGGIORE, AND THE FRANCISCANS

Tivoli's church of Sta. Maria Maggiore was part of a Benedictine monastery belonging to the abbey of Farfa from the early eleventh century until the mid thirteenth century.²⁵¹ In 1256 a group of Franciscan friars took possession of the monastery. This was a long and difficult process thanks to the intense opposition the mendicants encountered from both the Benedictine monks they were displacing and the episcopacy and the commune of Tivoli. It took 17 years and eight bulls by three insistent popes (Gregory IX, Innocent IV, and Alexander IV), including several threats of excommunication, before the friars were finally allowed to settle in Sta. Maria

²⁵⁰ Andoloro, "Note sui temi iconografici della *deesis*."

²⁵¹ For the history of the church, see Crocchiante, *Istoria delle chiese della città di Tivoli*, 183-210; Melchiorri, *L'immagine di Maria Santissima venerata in Tivoli*; Giuseppe Petrocchi, "Tivoli e S. Francesco," *AMSTSA* 8 (1927): 34-51; Vincenzo Pacifici, "Per il restauro di Santa Maria Maggiore," *AMSTSA* 18-19 (1938-39): 126-134; Vendittelli, "La 'civitas vetus' tiburtina"; Mariano D'Alatri, "I più antichi insediamenti francescani della custodia tiburtina," *AMSTSA* 2-53 (1979-80): 65-78; Francesca Pomarici, "Gli affreschi di S. Maria Maggiore a Tivoli: ipotesi per una lettura 'spaziosa' di alcune opere di pittura romana della fine del duecento," *Roma anno 1300. Atti della IV settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'Università di Roma* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1983), 413-22; Gabriella Villetti, "Il Complesso medievale di S. Maria Maggiore in Tivoli," *Saggi in onore di Renato Bonelli. Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* (Roma: Multigrafica, 1992), 153-168.

Maggiore and abide there unharassed. Even after their installment in 1256 the commune violently expelled the friars from the monastery. In 1258 its former Benedictine occupants are recorded as carrying off the church's *libros et ornamenta*, an act which incited threats from Pope Alexander IV.²⁵² This 17-year process, moreover, began only after the friars had already been living for a period of time outside the city at the site of the run-down monastery of S. Giovanni in Votano (built on top of the former temple of Hercules Victor).

The installment of the Franciscans in Tivoli in the mid thirteenth century therefore was a fraught process hindered by obstacles and opposition from the established ecclesiastical and civic authorities. Within this climate of hostility we may imagine that the friars sought means by which to establish their presence and spiritual authority in the city. The *Madonna delle Grazie* dates from this very period. I propose that the icon was introduced, at least in part, as a vehicle of legitimacy for the new mendicant monastic community. To understand why it was *this* particular imagery that was advantageous to the Tiburtine Franciscans, we must return to the family of twelfth- and thirteenth-century *Madonna Avvocata* panels in Rome and their ultimate exemplar, the *Monasterium Tempuli* icon.

The fame and adoration of the Roman *Monasterium Tempuli* icon from which Tivoli's *Madonna delle Grazie* ultimately derives, lay in its explicitly intercessory imagery and its non-papal history. This made it a particularly potent symbol of monastic autonomy and universal devotion. A legend, recorded in 1100 in a homiliary kept at Rome's basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore recounts how the image, painted by St Luke, was brought in the late seventh century from Constantinople to Rome and installed by divine directive in the *Monasterium Tempuli*

²⁵² The bulls are published in *Bullarium franciscanum* (Rome: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1759), I:289-290, 293, 592, 592-593; II:129, 147, 156-57, 315. The original documents were housed in the Tiburtine archive of Sta. Maria Maggiore (now part of the Archivio Comunale di Tivoli) until they were removed by Luke Wadding (1588-1657) for inclusion in his compilation *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum* (Rome, 1732).

convent. Pope Sergius, hearing about the venerable image, decided that it should reside in the Lateran and took it away from the nuns. However, during the night, the image miraculously returned to the convent, where the nuns celebrated the miracle with songs of praise. When the pope discovered that the image had returned to the convent of its own accord, he admitted his error and performed public penance.²⁵³

The legend of the *Tempuli* icon lived on in the many copies that were made of it for Roman convents and monasteries in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Each of the competing monastic communities claimed that its icon had been painted by St Luke and possessed miraculous powers.²⁵⁴ By the mid thirteenth century, in this “competition of the Madonnas,”²⁵⁵ the most famous icon came to be that of the church of Sta. Maria in Aracoeli on the Capitoline hill.²⁵⁶ The tenth- or early eleventh-century panel painting was inherited by the Franciscans who

²⁵³ BAV, fondo S. Maria Maggiore, n. 122, ff. 141-142. For discussions of the political effect of the legend on the icon, see Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 314-316; Romano, *Riforma e Tradizione*, 17-19, 72; and Tronzo, “Apse Decoration,” 178-189.

²⁵⁴ It is telling that a number of the Roman *Avvocata* icons copied from the *Tempuli* image belonged to female convents (Sta. Maria in Campo Marzio, S. Gregorio in Nazianzeno, Sta. Maria in Via Lata, Sta. Ambrogio in Massima). Serena Romano observed that one of the objectives of the papal reforms of the twelfth century was to gain control over the many previously autonomous and fairly liberal female monastic communities in Rome and collect and regularize them under a common rule and direct papal authority, a change which the nuns resisted (*Riforma e tradizione*, 17-18). “Marian icons, especially the replicas of the famous and ‘acheropita’ *Tempuli* icon, became in the course of the twelfth century the banner of the female religious communities of Rome, in the fight against the papal curia for their own autonomy” (*Riforma e Tradizione*, 18). This sentiment is revealed in the early twelfth-century fresco depicting the *Tempuli* legend in the oratory of S. Gregorio in Nazianzeno at the female convent of Sta. Maria in Campo Marzio, the home of two of the medieval panel replicas of the *Tempuli* image (see *Riforma e tradizione*, 18-19, 153-55).

²⁵⁵ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 320.

²⁵⁶ For the Madonna of Sta. Maria in Aracoeli: E. Lavagnino, “La Madona dell’Aracaeli e il suo restauro,” *Bollettino d’arte* (1938): 529ff; B. Pesci, “La leggenda di Augusto e le origini della chiesa di S. Maria in Aracoeli,” *Incoronazione della Madonna di Aracoeli* (Rome: Editrice Poliglotta, 1938), 18-33; Pesci, “Il problema cronologico della Madonna di Aracoeli alla luce delle fonti,” *Rivista di archeologia cristiana (RAC)* 18 (1941): 51ff; L. Grassi, “La Madonna di Aracoeli e le traduzioni romane del suo tema iconografico,” *RAC* 18 (1941): 65ff; Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes*, 49; C. Bertelli, “L’immagine del Monasterium Tempuli,” 95ff; Maria Andaloro, “L’icona della Vergine ‘Salus Populi Romani’,” *Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma*, eds. Carlo Pietrangeli (Florence: Nardini, 1988), 124-127; Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 229, 307 n. 98; M. Bacci, *Il pennello dell’Evangelista. Storia delle immagini sacre attribuite a San Luca* (Pisa: GISEM-EtS, 1998), 263-265; Belting,

took over the church from the Benedictines in 1250. A cult rose up around this icon whose fame came to surpass even that of its exemplar, the original *Tempuli* image, which had been acquired by Dominican nuns in 1216.

Miracles were attributed to the Aracoeli icon from the mid thirteenth century.²⁵⁷ Later, according to Fra Mariano da Firenze, in the plague of 1348 the Romans carried the Madonna of Aracoeli to St Peter's.²⁵⁸ The year prior, at the Assumption feast of 1347, after Cola di Rienzo had himself crowned Tribune he paid homage to the *Avvocata* of Aracoeli, offering her his staff and olive crown.²⁵⁹ The Madonna of Aracoeli also appears in a 1375 copy of the pilgrim's guide *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, by which point it had become associated with the legend of the *Tempuli* image.²⁶⁰ We know that even by the *early* fourteenth century, the church of the Aracoeli played a

Likeness and Presence, 320, 322-323, 500-501, 532, 538; P. Lombardo and G. Passarelli, *Ara Coeli. La basilica e il convento: dal 16 al 20 secolo* (Rome: Tiellemmedia, 2003), 25, 152-23, 172-73, 186-87.

²⁵⁷ Referring to an event of 1257, Fr. Bartolomeo da Pisa recounts the story of a poor Franciscan novice at the monastery of Aracoeli who one night in distress that he would be unjustly expelled from the monastery prays before an image of the Virgin painted by St Luke. Two angels appear and plead to Virgin on his behalf. The Virgin replies, "My Son, do not doubt; you will be received and will persevere in this good order..." Fr. Bartolomeo da Pisa, *De conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Jesu* (1385-1390), book I, frutto IX: *Franciscus regulator* (published in *Analecta franciscana* IV [Florence, Ad Claras Aquas, 1906], 455-456).

²⁵⁸ After Fra Mariano recounts the legend that the Madonna image of Aracoeli was carried in the Roman procession by Gregory the Great to bring an end to the plague of 590 he writes, "Item secundam processionem tempore alterius magnae pestis in qua portata fuit ista imago, cui in ponte sancti Angeli esistenti, marmoreus angelus castris praedictis reverentiam exhibuit, ut supra capitulo secundo dictum, ubi de sancta Maria Aracaeli dicitur." Fra Mariano da Firenze (1477-1523), *Itinerarium urbis Romae*, ed. Enrico Bulletti (Rome: Pont. Ist. di Archeologia Cristiana, 1931), 189.

²⁵⁹ The event was recorded in the biography of an anonymous contemporary Roman and published by A.M. Ghisalberti as *Vita di Cola di Rienzo* (Florence: Olschki, 1928): "After the victory for the people, the Tribune made the silver trumpets sound and with great glory and triumph gathered the throng and put on his head his crown of olive fronds and returned triumphant with all the people to Santa Maria of the Aracoeli and there proffered his scepter and olive crown to the Virgin Mary. Before this venerable image, he hung the scepter and crown in the house of the friars" (Ghisalberti, *Vita di Cola di Rienzo*, 76-77).

²⁶⁰ BAV, Codex lat. 4265, ff. 209-16. Listing the artworks and tombs at Sta. Maria in Aracoeli, the guidebook continues with: "an image of the blessed Virgin made by Saint Luke; the which a certain pope obtained by wrong, or took away, and carried the fame into the Holy of Holies, saying that the mother ought to be with the Son, whose image is there. But in the morning, against the dawn, the image returned with a great light to the worship of the Sisters..." (English translation quoted from Francis Morgan Nichols, ed., *Mirabilia Urbis Romae: the Marvels of Rome* [London: Ellis and Elvey, 1889], 141).

notable role in the August feast of the Assumption. As I discussed in chapter two, the 1332 Statutes of the *Società dei Raccomandati del Salvatore*—the lay confraternity that carried the Lateran Christ icon in the procession—specified that the members were to organize themselves at the church, which served as the starting-point from which the *confratelli* processed to the Lateran to collect the *Acheropita*.²⁶¹ By this period, the August Assumption feast had become an important civic event, which is emphasized by Cola da Rienzo’s propagandizing gesture. What had once been a spectacle of papal pomp was appropriated to a great extent by the commune. The procession was organized by the senate and conducted by city officials, confraternities, and trade guilds.

So by the thirteenth and fourteenth century the church of Sta. Maria in Aracoeli and its *Avvocata* icon, in addition to functioning as symbols of Franciscan presence and power in a period characterized by fierce monastic rivalries, had become important civic symbols as well. With this in mind, I suggest that another Franciscan community, that of Tivoli, in the process of establishing *its* presence in a new urban context and experiencing fierce opposition from the commune and competition with the Benedictine and Dominican communities of the city, may have strategically appropriated the imagery and the authority of the Roman *Madonna Avvocata* tradition, and *in particular* that of the Madonna of Aracoeli. Stylistic and historical evidence suggests this likelihood.

The Franciscans of Tivoli settled in Sta. Maria Maggiore in 1256, just six years after Franciscans in Rome occupied the church on the Capitoline and took possession of its *Avvocata* icon. Furthermore, stylistic studies have concluded that the *Madonna delle Grazie* was painted

²⁶¹ ASR, Ospedale del Salvatore, vol. 1009, f. 4: “Quod omnes in vigilia Assumptionis beate Marie ad vespas debeant convenire in ecclesia Sancte Marie de Araceli: Item quod omnes conveniant ipso die vigilie festivitatis in ecclesia Sancte marie de Araceli cum tunicis unius coloris et simul vadant ad basilicam Lateranensem ad solempnitates solitas celebrandas.”

around this time. In fact, it has been suggested since the early twentieth century that the Madonna of Aracoeli was the direct exemplar of the *Madonna delle Grazie*.²⁶² While the current Tiburtine image is an eighteenth- or nineteenth-copy of the original, the compositional and stylistic similarities between the two paintings is remarkable—far more so than between the *Madonna delle Grazie* and any of the other Roman *Avvocata* panels. This is particularly apparent in the decoration of the robe, the position of the arms and hands, the shape of the face, particularly in the curve and shading of the Virgin's left cheek and the shape and rendering of her eyes, eyebrows, nose, mouth, and chin.²⁶³

Unfortunately, there are no surviving records of the *Madonna delle Grazie* from this period. The earliest known references to the icon date to the late sixteenth century or later histories on that period that record contemporary events. P. Stanislao Melchiorri, nineteenth-century historian of the Tiburtine Franciscans, tells us that in the sixteenth century the friars, desiring to celebrate with proper solemnity the feast of the Assumption and rite of the *Inchinata*, commissioned a large painting on wood depicting the Assumption for the main altar of Sta. Maria Maggiore. Not wanting to cover up the *Madonna delle Grazie*, they moved it to a chapel with a newly-consecrated altar in the left aisle, next to the main altar.²⁶⁴ In his 1581 apostolic visit, bishop Annibale Grassi of Faenza described the altar: *Altare beatae Mariae Maioris est*

²⁶² De Angelis, "Una Tavola di Iacopo Torriti," 151; Pacifici, "L'Inchinata," 1438; Ashby, "Tivoli and the *Inchinata*," 56; Pacifici, "Per il restauro di Santa Maria Maggiore," 133; and Andaloro, "Note sui temi iconografici della deesis," 141.

²⁶³ The Tivoli and Aracoeli panels share many of these same stylistic features with the *Tempuli* icon. It cannot be ruled out that the *Tempuli* served as a direct model of the *Madonna delle Grazie*. But since at the time the *Madonna delle Grazie* was made the *Tempuli* icon was housed at the Dominican convent of S. Sisto, it seems probable that the Franciscan Aracoeli image was a more likely model for the Franciscans of Tivoli, especially since by this time in Rome the Madonna of Aracoeli had surpassed the fame of the *Tempuli*.

²⁶⁴ Melchiorri, *L'immagine di Maria Santissima venerata in Tivoli*, 63.

omnibus necessariis decenter paratum et munitum.²⁶⁵ However, Melchiorri informs us that shortly thereafter, the *Madonna delle Grazie* icon was placed back on the main altar of the church “com’ era in antico” (“as it was in the past”) when the altar was re-dedicated in 1592 by Francesco Gonzaga, bishop of Cefalù.²⁶⁶ The marble plaque behind the main altar records the dedication. We also find a reference to the icon in the late sixteenth-century history of Tivoli by Marco Antonio Nicodemi. The historian describes both the Madonna icon of Sta. Maria Maggiore and the *Trittico del Salvatore* in the Duomo as works of the Evangelist Luke, given to Tivoli by Tiburtine pope Simplicius (468-483).²⁶⁷ In 1587 Gonzaga wrote that the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore was embellished with a beautiful image of the Virgin Mother known for its miracles (*pulcherrima atque plurimis miraculis Deiparae virginis imagine...venustatur*).²⁶⁸ The richest textual record from this period, however, is that of Giovanni Maria Zappi of the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Zappi provides a detailed description of the *Inchinata* procession in his time, including an account of the *Madonna delle Grazie* icon coming out of the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore and engaging in the ritual bow of greeting with the *Trittico del Salvatore* before following the Savior icon back into the church for the night.²⁶⁹

Although these early modern records are the first to explicitly mention an icon at Sta. Maria Maggiore, there is earlier evidence of an important cult of the Virgin at the church that hints at an icon’s presence there. On March 29, 1289 Pope Nicholas IV conceded an indulgence

²⁶⁵ ACT, Archivio Vescovile, visit of mons. Annibale de Grassi, f. 66.

²⁶⁶ Melchiorri, *L’immagine di Maria Santissima venerata in Tivoli*, 66.

²⁶⁷ Nicodemi, *Storia di Tivoli*, 104: “Nec Romam augens patriae suae defuit: nam & Templum S. Mariae majoris fati insigne exaedificasse; & Ss. Virginis Imagine a B. Luca Evangelista depicta exornasse fertur: praeterea Templum S. Petro ornatissimum, aliud S. Silvestro haud ignobile extruxisse fertur: Cathedralem vero Aedem Sacrosancti Salvatoris ab eodem Evangelista ad vivum expressa Imagine auxit.”

²⁶⁸ Francesco Gonzaga, *De origine seraphicae religionis* (Rome, 1587), 181.

²⁶⁹ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*. For the full text, see appendix E.

of one year and 40 days to the faithful who visited the church on the feasts of the Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, and Nativity of the Virgin and on the feast of St Francis and for the following octave, and an indulgence of 40 days for each day that the faithful visited the church during the period of Lent.²⁷⁰ In 1392, Pope Boniface the IX conceded an indulgence to visitors to the main altar of the church²⁷¹ in response to the petitions of a local woman who claimed to have received a vision of San Ludovico as intercessory for the Virgin.²⁷²

In 1920 local superintendent of monuments Silla Rosa DeAngelis opened the main altar of Sta. Maria Maggiore. Inside was a granite urn containing a collection of medieval documents, which were later placed in the city archive.²⁷³ Among the documents are lists of relics kept at the church. The oldest list²⁷⁴—never published—dates to the fourteenth century and includes an entry for the dust or ashes of an image of the Virgin painted by St Luke, kept in a silver casket (*de pulvere ymagine beate virginis quam depinxit beatus lucas. Iste fuerunt in cassecta parva de argento*). While this entry does not refer to an intact painting at Sta. Maria Maggiore, nor to the origins of the “dust” or “ashes,” the document is important textual evidence for the antiquity of both the cult of the Virgin—connected with an image—at Sta. Maria Maggiore and the legend of

²⁷⁰ BAV, Reges. Vatic. Pontif. epist. 106. anno 2. The indulgence is published in *Bullarium franciscanum*, IV, 68, n. 99. See also appendix I.

²⁷¹ As recorded by Casimiro da Roma in *Memorie istoriche delle chiese e dei conventi dei frati minori della provincia romana*, 2nd edition (Rome: Rev. Cam. Apost., 1845), 475. See also appendix J.

²⁷² In 1417 the city erected a plaque on the façade of the church commemorating the miraculous visitation and the pope’s concession. The inscription reads, “In the name of the Lord, amen. In the year of our Lord 1392 at the time of Pope Boniface IX, Cardinal d’Alencon, by revelation made, by work of the holy Ludovico, to a holy Tiburtine woman on the part of the blessed Virgin, obtained by the pope the total remission of sins for all those truly penitent and confessed visiting the main altar of the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore of Tivoli of the order of the Frati Minori on the day of the nativity of the Holy Virgin and during the octave, for all time, and this was obtained, when he was capomilizia Nicola Brunelli. Master Angelo da Tivoli, son of Francesco, made this work of the guardianato of frate Francesco da Via Maggiore.” See appendix K for the original Latin text.

²⁷³ ACT, Sezione preunitaria, 24, S. Maria Maggiore, frammenti pergamenei.

²⁷⁴ ACT, Sezione Preunitaria, 24, S. Maria Maggiore, n. 16. The document is not dated, but based on the script has been assigned to the fourteenth century by Vincenzo Pacifici in “Notizie,” ASRSP 43-44 (1920-21): 462.

the Evangelist Luke as the author of a miraculous image of the Virgin. This evidence allows us to revise the existing belief that the first surviving reference in Tivoli to the St Luke legend is Nicodemi's description in the sixteenth century. We do not know when Sta. Maria Maggiore acquired the ashes relic, but it is possible that the *Madonna delle Grazie* could have been commissioned or acquired by the Franciscans of Sta. Maria Maggiore in the later thirteenth century as a substitution for a lost painting of St Luke believed by the friars to be the source of the dust. The *Madonna delle Grazie* could have then taken on the identity of this painting.²⁷⁵

Evidence for the fame of Sta. Maria Maggiore as a cult site continues into the fifteenth century. In his papal history, Johannis Burckardi (1450-1506), bishop of Orte and Civita Castellana, describes Alexander VI's July 1494 visit to Tivoli in which he paid homage at the main altar of Sta. Maria Maggiore. He describes the procession of the pope, his cavalcade of cardinals, and the officials and people of the commune carrying torches from the city gates up the hill to Sta. Maria Maggiore. Reaching the church, the pope knelt before the main altar with the *santissimo sacramento* that had been carried in the procession, and prayed. Rising again, he blessed the congregation and issued an indulgence to the people.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ Also among the documents found in Sta. Maria Maggiore's main altar are a collection of 17 fragments of parchment (ACT, Sezione Preunitaria, 24, S. Maria Maggiore, elenco dei oblatori, nn. 1-17) on which are recorded the names of hundreds of oblates for the early twelfth-century rebuilding of the church. On one of the fragments (unfortunately now lost but recorded in Pacifici, *Tivoli nel medio-evo*, 323) was written the following text: "Precibus, o alma Mater, tuis horum anime subleventur quorum nomina hoc quidem brevi scripta libello tuo se gaudent hoc altari contexta," after which begins the list of names. Another fragment (n. 3) lists the names of a number of male and female oblates in a group, identified specifically as the "serbi et nacelle Dei et Virginis sancte Dei genitricis Marie" ("servants and handmaids of God and the holy Virgin mother of God"). Pacifici has observed that this designation appears to refer to a kind of early confraternity at Sta. Maria Maggiore dedicated to the cults of the Savior and the Virgin (*Tivoli nel medio-evo*, 356). While these documents predate the *Madonna delle Grazie*, their existence is an important indicator that the Marian cult at the church is very ancient, already existing in the time of the Benedictine ownership of the monastery, and that the *Madonna delle Grazie* could have had a predecessor, although of what iconographic type we do not know.

²⁷⁶ Johannis Burckardi, *Liber notarum ab anno MCCCCLXXX ad annum MDVI*, ed. Enrico Celani (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1906), 530-31.

Another piece of evidence of an important medieval cult of the Virgin at Sta. Maria Maggiore is the collection of mid sixteenth-century legal testimonies of several Tiburtini against Cardinal Ippolito D'Este who, in building his famous gardens adjacent to Sta. Maria Maggiore, tore down what is described as a kind of ancient *scala sancta* ("holy stair") crowned with arches depicting Christ and the Virgin, which pilgrims ascended on their knees to the church.²⁷⁷

Further evidence pointing to the presence of the icon at Sta. Maria Maggiore in the late Middle Ages is the practice of the *Inchinata* procession, whose earliest known textual references are found in the Tivoli city statutes of 1305²⁷⁸ and in the edition of the statutes dating to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.²⁷⁹ The *Inchinata*, modeled on Rome's Assumption procession, would have called for an image of the Madonna at the culminating point of the procession to welcome the effigy of the son who had traveled through the city from the cathedral to meet her, just as in Rome, the *Acheropita* was carried from the Lateran to the home of his mother, the basilica of Sta. Maggiore. Here, the mother was embodied both by the basilica itself and the icon of the Madonna and Child today known by its nineteenth-century name *Salus Populi Romani*.²⁸⁰ Additionally, a ritual meeting of the *Acheropita* and another image of the Virgin and Child (a *Hodegetria*) likely took place c. 1000 in front of the church of Sta. Maria

²⁷⁷ The original depositions are housed in the Archivio Estense di Stato in Modena (Ippolito II, *Iuxta querelas*). They were published by Casimiro da Roma in *Memorie istoriche*, 491-492; and in "Querele contro il Card. Ippolito d'Este sporte dai frati francescani e dai cittadini di Tivoli," BSSAT anno I, n. 4 (Oct. 1919): 167-68; anno II, n. 5 (Jan 1920): 33-34; anno II, n. 6 (April, 1920): 68-70; anno II, n. 7 (July 1920): 118-19; and anno II, n. 8 (Oct 1920): 158-161.

²⁷⁸ ACT, Sezione Preunitarie, *Statuto del 1305*, n. 1 bis, f. 83v and ff. 37v-38r. See appendices A and B.

²⁷⁹ *Statuta et reformationes circa stilum civitatis Tyburtinae incipit liber primus* II (Rome, 1522), 24r. See appendix C.

²⁸⁰ For the role of the *Salus Populi Romani* in the Roman Assumption procession, see my discussion in chapter two.

Nuova in the forum, one of the stops along the procession route.²⁸¹ Thus the dramatic reenactment of the literal and spiritual reunion of mother and son in Paradise was an integral part of the Roman Assumption procession from a very early date and was an element adopted by other cities around Lazio in the later Middle Ages.²⁸²

5.4 THE *AVVOCATA* AND CONTEMPORARY ASSUMPTION THEOLOGY

The case for the use of the *Madonna delle Grazie* in Tivoli's medieval *Inchinata* procession is strengthened by literature of the last few decades that has demonstrated that *Avvocata* imagery was associated from an early date with Assumption theology, which in turn was closely tied to Franciscan doctrine. Ernst Kitzinger,²⁸³ elaborating on the work of Émile Mâle,²⁸⁴ discussed an important element of the twelfth-century apse mosaic of the Roman basilica of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, which features a *synthronos* arrangement of Christ and Mary seated side-by-side on the same throne with Christ's right arm around the shoulder of Mary and Mary's arms positioned in the traditional gesture of intercession. Kitzinger observed that the text on the book held by the figure of Christ and the text on the scroll held by the Virgin both come from the liturgy of the feast of the Assumption, which extensively used verses referring to the *sponsus* and *sponsa* ("bridegroom" and "bride") from the Old Testament Song of Songs as an allegory for Christ and Mary (as *Ecclesia*). Christ's text reads: *Veni electa mea et ponam in te*

²⁸¹ For this ritual stop at Sta. Maria Nuova and the role of the church's *Hodegetria* icon, see my discussion in chapter two.

²⁸² These processions are examined in the next chapter.

²⁸³ Kitzinger, "A Virgin's Face," 6-19.

²⁸⁴ Émile Mâle, *The Early Churches of Rome* (London: Ernest Benn, 1960), 139ff; and *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France* (Paris: A. Colin, 1922), 183ff.

thronum meum, a paraphrase of Cant. 4:8 (*Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, Veni de Libano, veni, coronaberis*), taken from the responses in the liturgy of the Assumption Day.²⁸⁵ The Virgin's text reads: *Leva eius sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me*, which is a quotation from Cant. 2:6 and 8:3.²⁸⁶ Kitzinger argued that the apse inscriptions have a bearing on the iconography of the central group featuring the *synthronos* and Christ's arm around the Virgin's shoulder."²⁸⁷

In 1998 William Tronzo addressed the similar iconography in the thirteenth-century apse mosaic of Rome's basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore, the destination and culminating focus of the Roman medieval Assumption procession.²⁸⁸ Here, Christ and the Virgin are seated together, Christ placing a crown on the Virgin's head, and the Virgin in the pose of the *Avvocata*. Along the bottom of the mosaic appear the words, *Maria Virgo assumpta est ad etherum thalamum in quo rex regum stellato sedet solio exaltata est sancta dei genetrix super choros angelorum ad coelestia regna*,²⁸⁹ and as at Sta. Maria in Trastevere the text inscribed on the book held by Christ is from the liturgy of the Assumption (*Veni electa mea et ponam in te thronum meum*).

²⁸⁵ See Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, I:284.

²⁸⁶ Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, 1:286; and Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, 78: col. 800A.

²⁸⁷ Kitzinger, "A Virgin's Face," 9. Citing the scholarship from the previous 40 years which has developed the theory that the Roman Assumption procession was a factor in shaping the iconography of the Sta. Maria in Trastevere iconography, Kitzinger goes a step further by arguing that the face of the Virgin in the Sta. Maria in Trastevere apse mosaic was a quotation of the face of the Virgin of the S. Maria Antiqua (Sta. Maria Nuova) icon was probably the image used in the ritual greeting with the Lateran *Acheropita* at Sta. Maria Nuova during the Assumption procession ("A Virgin's Face," 15 and n. 49).

²⁸⁸ Tronzo, "Apse Decoration," 167-193.

²⁸⁹ "The Virgin Mary is received into the celestial bridal chamber in which the King of Kings is seated on a starry throne. Mary, the holy bearer of God, is raised into heaven above the choirs of angels" (as translated in Kessler, *Rome 1300*, 142).

Noting the relationships between the apse mosaic and the Assumption, Tronzo suggests that the *Madonna Avvocata* of the mosaic was intended to quote the *Monasterium Tempuli* icon, which was one of Rome's most ancient and sacred icons and may have been one of the Marian images used early on in the medieval Assumption procession (although there is no clear documentary evidence for this).²⁹⁰ Tronzo argues the *Monasterium Tempuli* icon, as an image of the *Madonna Avvocata*, would have been particularly suited to a ritual encounter with the *Acheropita* in the context of the Assumption procession, being that unlike in the case of an image of the Virgin and Child, there would be no duplication, and that the two icons of Christ and the Virgin coming together would create the intercessory configuration of the *deesis*.²⁹¹ Tronzo explains that the intercession was a central theme of the Assumption feast and that, "In the medieval imagination, it was the Assumption, above all, that established the Virgin's efficacy in the salvation of man... In Rome the motifs of intercession, judgment and salvation run through the prayers of the Assumption liturgy and the ordines and legends associated with it."²⁹² Indeed, the four medieval replicas of the Lateran Savior icon in Lazio that still exist as triptychs feature the standing *Madonna Avvocata* on the left wing.²⁹³

It may appear problematic, therefore, that neither of the two Marian images for which there is textual evidence of ritual participation in the Roman Assumption procession (the *Salus Populi Romani* at Sta. Maria Maggiore and the Madonna of Sta. Maria Nuova) are *Avvocates* in the classic sense. They are both depictions of Mary holding the Christ Child. The Madonna of Sta. Maria Nuova, however, is of the iconographic type known as the *Hodegetria* (Greek for

²⁹⁰ Tronzo, "Apse Decoration," 178-192.

²⁹¹ Tronzo, "Apse Decoration," 180.

²⁹² Tronzo, "Apse Decoration," 182.

²⁹³ These triptychs will be discussed in the next chapter.

“She who shows the way”), which depicts the Virgin holding the Child at her side while pointing to him as the source of salvation for mankind. Based on Tronzo’s evidence, it could be argued that the Sta. Maria Nuova icon with this intercessory gesture is a *variation* on the *Madonna Avvocata* and therefore an appropriate image for a ritual encounter with the *Acheropita* icon in the Assumption procession.²⁹⁴

5.5 THE FRANCISCANS AND CONTEMPORARY ASSUMPTION THEOLOGY

Recent scholarship has also elucidated the link between Assumption theology, Assumption iconography, and the Franciscans in thirteenth-century Rome and Lazio. Herbert Kessler²⁹⁵ and Marilyn Aronberg Lavin²⁹⁶ have observed that the artist of the apse mosaic of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome was Jacopo Torriti, a Franciscan monk, and that Pope Nicholas IV (1288-1292), who was actively involved in the mosaic’s design,²⁹⁷ was himself a Franciscan, and in 1274 became head of the order. It seems that it was the influence of the Franciscans with their especial emphasis on Mary that led to the codification of the doctrine of the Assumption in the

²⁹⁴ This leaves the problem of the *Salus Populi Romani*, which is documented as participating in the Assumption procession but which is not a figure of intercession. This icon was the most venerated image at Sta. Maria Maggiore, the destination of the Assumption procession since the early Middle Ages. Therefore, it appears that in the selection of images for the ritual performances of the procession iconographic type was not always the primary criterion. Rather, the fame of an image’s cult seems also to have played a role. I will address this problem further in the next chapter.

²⁹⁵ Kessler, *Rome 1300*, 142-145.

²⁹⁶ Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, “Cimabue at Assisi: the Virgin, the ‘Song of Songs,’ and the Gift of Love,” in *Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 95-112.

²⁹⁷ In a 1288 letter to Jacopo Colonna, one of the sponsors of the renovation of Sta. Maria Maggiore that included the apse mosaic, Nicholas IV outlined the subject matter of the apse decoration. For more on Nicholas IV’s involvement in the thirteenth-century mosaic decoration of Sta. Maria Maggiore, see Alessandro Tomei, “Dal documento al monumento: Le lettere di Niccolò IV per Santa Maria Maggiore,” *Studi medievali e moderni* I (1997): 73-92; and Julian Gardner, “Nicholas IV and the Decoration of S. Maria Maggiore,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 36.1 (1973): 1-50.

thirteenth century. Francis and Bonaventure were particularly devoted to the Virgin (the patron of their order) and strong advocates of Marian theology. Bonaventure wrote sermons and commentaries on the Assumption.²⁹⁸ He expounded on the allegorical union of Christ and *Ecclesia*, describing it as an amorous embrace between husband and wife that recalled the sweet bond between God and the worshipper.²⁹⁹

To illustrate the intense interest of the early Franciscans in Marian dogma, Aronberg Lavin observes that Cimabue's fresco cycle in the upper basilica of San Francesco in Assisi is remarkable in being the first fresco program in the history of art to focus "not on Mary's motherhood, but on Mary herself."³⁰⁰ She cites the absence of the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Adoration, Presentation/Purification, and Flight into Egypt, and any Marian scene from Christ's later life. Furthermore, she notes that the scene of the Assumption of the Virgin in this fresco cycle, featuring Christ and Mary seated together inside a mandorla in an embrace that evokes in a very palpable way the *sponsus* and *sponsa* of the Song of Songs, is the first monumental depiction of this episode in Italian art.³⁰¹

This contemporary context, which ties together Assumption theology, iconographical trends, and the Franciscans in Rome and Lazio in the second half of the thirteenth century, leads me to several conclusions about Tivoli's *Madonna delle Grazie*. First, it is not a coincidence that the icon is of the *Avvocata* type, as opposed to a Madonna and Child or other category of Marian image. The intercessory image of the *Madonna delle Grazie*, closely related iconographically to

²⁹⁸ See *Opus omnia*. 10 vols (Florence, 1882-1902): *opus* IX, Sermon. V (699a-700b), sermon on Cant. 4, *Veni de Libano*; and *opus* IX, Sermon 3, 693-95.

²⁹⁹ Aronberg Lavin, "Cimabue at Assisi," 108. The sermon she cites is Bonaventure's *opus* IX: 687-703.

³⁰⁰ Aronberg Lavin, "Cimabue at Assisi," 96-97.

³⁰¹ Aronberg Lavin, "Cimabue at Assisi," 100.

both the icon of the Franciscan monks of Sta. Maria in Aracoeli and the figures of the Virgin in the monumental apse mosaics in the Roman basilicas of Sta. Maria in Trastevere and Sta. Maria Maggiore with their associations with the feast of the Assumption and Assumption theology, would have held implicit theological significance for the Franciscans of Tivoli. This is underscored by the 1289 event in which Pope Nicholas IV, who was a great champion of St Francis and personally involved in the design of the apse mosaic of Rome's Sta. Maria Maggiore, conceded an indulgence to Tivoli's church of Sta. Maria Maggiore for the Marian feasts, including that of the Assumption.³⁰²

Second, while there are no explicit textual references to the icon in Tivoli in the thirteenth century, given the roughly contemporary dating of the Roman Sta. Maria Maggiore's apse mosaic and recent theological developments relating to the Assumption of the Virgin (in addition to the contemporary dates of the Roman monastic *Avvocata* icons), it is likely that the *Madonna delle Grazie* was introduced in the city at the time the Franciscans took up residence in Sta. Maria Maggiore in 1256 or shortly thereafter.

Third, it does not seem likely that the *Inchinata* ceremony involving a ritual bow between the *Madonna delle Grazie* and the *Trittico del Salvatore* at the climax of Tivoli's Assumption procession was a modern invention that appeared suddenly in the late sixteenth century at the time of its first textual mentions. We have other—more monumental—evidence that in this period contemporary Roman Assumption theology, with its emphasis on the reception by Christ of his allegorical bride Mary as *Ecclesia*, was embraced and celebrated in Tivoli. As discussed in chapter three, in his history of the city Giovanni Maria Zappi described the apse decoration of

³⁰² It should be noted, further, that Nicholas IV conceded the indulgence to Sta. Maria Maggiore just one year after he wrote his letter outlining the design for the apse mosaic of Sta. Maria Maggiore, whose theme and iconography are evoked by Tivoli's *Madonna delle Grazie*.

the cathedral before it was torn down and rebuilt in the mid sixteenth century. The apse featured Christ and the Virgin side-by-side in a scene of the Coronation. Christ held an open book with the words *veni electa mea et ponam in te thronum meum*.³⁰³ We can gather that the decoration was medieval from Monsigneur De Grassi's observation during his 1581 apostolic visit that by then the cathedral's apse decoration was much decayed.³⁰⁴ I am unaware of any other medieval church in Lazio that features or featured this scene in the apse, the architectural crown of the most sacred space of the church and the focus for central theological tenets. While there may be examples that did not survive, the rarity of the iconographical program in the Tivoli apse is still significant. It suggests that the church of Tivoli was particularly in tune with contemporary theological and iconographical trends in Rome, which included the themes of the Assumption, and would, we could argue, have naturally extended to the ceremonial and processional use of related images.

Lastly, in the later thirteenth century, at the time of the Franciscans early occupation of Tivoli's Sta. Maria Maggiore, it was most likely the image of the *Madonna delle Grazie* that played the role of Christ's counterpart in the *Inchinata* bowing ritual, rather than another Marian image in the city. Not all of the Marian images used in ritual greetings in medieval Assumption processions in Lazio were of the *Avvocata* type, but it is crucial to note that both of the medieval *Avvocata* panel paintings that have survived in Lazio (Tivoli, Vetralla), as well as two fifteenth-century versions (Orte, Capena), and even an eastern import in Spoleto, are either currently used in Assumption processions or known to have been historically.³⁰⁵ In fact, the thirteenth-century

³⁰³ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 131.

³⁰⁴ ACT, Archivio Vescovile, visit of mons. Annibale de Grassi. See also Marco Vendittelli, "Testimonianze sulla cattedrale di Tivoli, 90.

³⁰⁵ For the Vetralla panel, see Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 325. For Orte, see Gail E. Solberg, "The Madonna Avvocata Icon at Orte and Geography," in *Visions of Holiness: Art and Devotion in Renaissance Italy*, eds. Andrew

Madonna Avvocata icon in Vetralla had an image of Christ Enthroned painted on the reverse around 1400. It was a replacement for the city's lost Savior icon that belonged to the family of twelfth and thirteen-century replicas of the Lateran *Acheropita* image that were the foci of medieval Assumption processions throughout Lazio. Thus the two procession images shared one and the same panel.³⁰⁶

5.6 THE *MADONNA DELLE GRAZIE* IN THE CIVIC LIFE OF LATE MEDIEVAL TIVOLI

I have repeatedly discussed in this dissertation the strong civic character of Tivoli's *Inchinata* procession. We recall that the late fourteenth/early fifteenth city statutes³⁰⁷ and Giovanni Maria Zappi's sixteenth-century description of the event³⁰⁸ describe the featured role of the city's magistrates, confraternities, and trade guilds in the procession. Even as early as 1305 the city statutes mention the "men who go with the image of the Savior in procession," suggesting that the *Confraternita del Salvatore*, the central lay actor in the theater of the *Inchinata* spectacle, goes back at least that far.³⁰⁹

Ladis and Shelley E. Zuraw (Athens: Georgia Museum of Art, 2001), 123-134. In Spoleto a bull of indulgence of Bishop Gerardus dated August 15, 1291 speaks of a procession to the altar of the cathedral with a panel of great beauty which contained the image of the Mother of God painted with great workmanship by St Luke the Evangelist in response to the prayers of St Timothy: "quaedam tabula mirae pulchritudinis per clericos Ecclesiae cum magna reverentia, praecedentibus luminaribus, ad altare processionaliter est delata, quae Dei Genitricis imaginem B. Lucae Evangelistae manibus ad preces B. Timothei summo depictam studio continet" (see M. Bonfioli and E. Ermini, "Premesse ad un riesame critico dell 'Icône' del Duomo di Spoleto," in *Atti del IX congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo, Spoleto 27 settembre – 2 ottobre, 1982* [Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1983], 832).

³⁰⁶ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 325.

³⁰⁷ *Statuta et reformationes circa stilum civitatis Tyburtinae incipit liber primus* II (Rome, 1522), 24r. See appendix C.

³⁰⁸ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 83-85. See appendix E.

³⁰⁹ Statuto del 1305, f. 83v. See appendix A.

I argue that having been modeled on—but independent of—Roman and papal institutions, the Assumption procession in Tivoli had this civic character since its probable inception in the early twelfth century.³¹⁰ As discussed in chapter two, at that time Tivoli was at the peak of its political autonomy, military might, and economic strength—and constantly at war with both the papacy and nobility of Rome. Even after Rome subdued its neighbor in 1254 Tivoli retained most of its political independence. Its sense of place and communal identity only grew stronger, as we can see from its stubborn efforts to maintain its autonomy and economic interests. Tivoli chafed against the tribute it was now required to pay to the senate of Rome and against the newly-imposed right retained by the papacy to appoint bishops to the Tiburtine diocese.³¹¹ The fact that these bishops were now usually Roman and that they and their often non-native canons³¹² were widely viewed as greedy and neglectful of their parochial duties was an increasing source of friction throughout the late Middle Ages. Surviving wills and other notary records from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show that donations and legacies to the cathedral were paltry and coerced.³¹³ Private chapels were frequently founded in parish and mendicant churches but never in the chapter churches of S. Paolo and S. Pietro Maggiore. While some prominent citizens did found a private chapel in the cathedral because of the social prestige

³¹⁰ For the evidence of the origins of the *Inchinata* in the twelfth century, see chapter two.

³¹¹ From 1256 until 1499 no Tiburtine was appointed bishop of Tivoli (see Carocci, *Tivoli nel basso medioevo*, 135). The papal intervention in the naming of Tiburtine bishop dates to 1256 and is recorded in the register of Clement IV (see *Les registres de Clément IV*, 48-49).

³¹² For a discussion of the numbers, origins, social extraction, and prebends of the canons of Tivoli's cathedral and two collegiate churches (S. Paolo and S. Pietro Maggiore), see Carocci, *Tivoli nel basso medioevo*, 127-136.

³¹³ For a detailed treatment of the Tiburtine wills and donations that survive from the Middle Ages, see Carocci, *Tivoli nel basso medioevo*, chp 3, "La Società Ecclesiastica," esp. 132-134, 141-145, 150-151, 159-176. The documents are housed in several archives in Tivoli and Rome: Archivio Comunale di Tivoli (Archivio Notarile); Archivio di S. Giovanni Evangelista, Tivoli; Archivio Colonna, Rome; Archivio di San Francesca Romana, Rome; Archivio Generale della Congregazione della Missione, Rome; Archivio della Curia Generalizia dei Domenicani, Rome; and Archivio del Convento di San Sisto, Rome.

that carried, they often entrusted the *cappellania* (the maintenance of the chapel and the offering of prayers on behalf of the deceased, secured through a donation or endowment) to a religious figure or institution other than the bishop and outside the cathedral chapter. Moreover, the neglect of the *cura animarum* entrusted to Tivoli's three chapters frequently required the intervention of higher ecclesiastical authority, including that of the papacy.³¹⁴

I propose that by the mid thirteenth century onward, these tensions functioned as an impetus to the citizens of the city to assert themselves through unifying civic expressions like the *Inchinata* and to embrace the new mendicant communities and the image traditions they offered that represented universal religious devotion over papal and episcopal authority.³¹⁵ While the city was initially hostile to the Franciscans, it was not long before it embraced them, and the mendicant community and its church came to play an important role in the civic life of Tivoli. In fact, of the three monastic communities introduced into Tivoli in the mid to late 1200s (the others being the Dominicans of S. Biagio and the Augustinians of S. Angelo in Plaiale), only the Franciscans of Sta. Maria Maggiore came to enjoy full acceptance into the urban community by the end of that century, and are the only monastic order of the city to appear in the surviving records at this time as the beneficiaries of donations and legacies.³¹⁶ Moreover, in the city

³¹⁴ Carocci, *Tivoli nel basso medioevo*, 132-36.

³¹⁵ For more on the role of the Franciscans in urban communities in late medieval Italy, including the tensions between the Franciscan newcomers and established episcopal and parochial hierarchies, see Luigi Pellegrini, "Mendicanti e parroci: coesistenza e conflitti di due strutture organizzative della '*cura animarum*,'" *Francescanesimo e vita*, 129-167; and Pellegrini, *Insedimenti francescani*, 155-186.

³¹⁶ For example, the sumptuous cosmatesque pavement of Sta. Maria Maggiore was donated by a "Maria Leonis Bonini," wife of Tiburtine Leone Bonini. The donation was recorded in an inscription, no longer visible, in the marble pavement itself and recorded by Casimiro da Roma when it was already quite obscured (see Casimiro da Roma, *Memorie istoriche*, 494). Also, in 1284 Girardus Petri Iordani left a sum of money to "ecclesie Sancte Marie Maioris Tyburis pro opere ipsius ecclesie" for the remodeling campaign that was underway at the time (Archive of the convent of San Sisto, Rome AGOP, XII, 9001, perg. 56).

statutes of 1305 S. Maria Maggiore was designated as the seat of the statutes themselves,³¹⁷ and the piazza in front of the church was called *platea communis* or “piazza of the commune,”³¹⁸ suggesting that it was the seat of the municipal curia or other official civic site. Additionally, as mentioned earlier, soon after the 1389 indulgence of Pope Boniface was conceded to the church, the city erected the plaque on the façade of the church commemorating the event.³¹⁹ It also petitioned to Rome and was granted permission to hold an annual fair in the piazza during the days designated by the indulgence.³²⁰ The inscription on the façade plaque specifically mentions that Boniface IX’s indulgence was conceded in the time of *Nicolaus Brunellus*, Tivoli’s *capomiliza* (the highest civic office of the commune). The coat-of-arms of Nicola Brunelli also appears within the stone frame of the portal that was constructed in this period (along with the new façade, after the anterior portico was closed), demonstrating the involvement of the commune, or at least high-ranking civic officials in the remodeling of the church at this time.³²¹ The important role of Sta. Maria Maggiore in the life of the commune of Tivoli is also emphasized by the many legacies established and tombs, altars, and chapels founded there in this period³²² and into the fifteenth century,³²³ including by some of the most prominent aristocratic

³¹⁷ “Ubi statutum originale esse debet capitulum. Et originale statutum Tyburis semper resideat penes notarium communis vel ad Sanctam Maria Maiorem de Tybure” (Statuto del 1305, f. 9r).

³¹⁸ The topographical designation *platea communis* appears five times in the statutes of 1305: two times in chapter 242 (f. 46r), one time in chapter 285 (f. 82r), one time in chapter 287 (f. 82v), and one time in chapter 288 (f. 82v).

³¹⁹ See appendix K.

³²⁰ The document was copied in 1535 by Antonio Simone Petrarca. See Petrarca, *Codice Diplomatico di Tivoli*, 39-41.

³²¹ For the remodeling of Sta. Maria Maggiore in this period, see Pacifici, “Per il restauro di Santa Maria Maggiore,” 133; and Villetti, “S. Maria Maggiore in Tivoli,” 157. This was the second remodeling campaign of the church undertaken by the new Franciscan occupants. The first occurred in the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century. In this campaign the old apse was substituted by an elongated, rectangular presbytery covered by transverse arches (see Villetti, “S. Maria Maggiore in Tivoli,” 152, 154-155).

³²² For some examples from the fourteenth century, see appendix L.

citizens like the Brigante Colonna. Surviving legal records even show that S. Maria Maggiore was the site of marriage contracts.³²⁴

Part of this late fourteenth-century re-modeling campaign included the installation of the tabernacle that is still positioned above the church's main portal.³²⁵ Until the nineteenth century this tabernacle contained a fresco copy of the *Madonna delle Grazie* icon. We do not know precisely when the image was installed; however, it seems like it would not have been much later than the erection of the tabernacle itself since in his 1581 apostolic visit Annibale De Grassi describes it as much decayed.³²⁶ According to modern Tivoli historian Franco Sciarretta, the "principle scope [of the tabernacle with the image of the Virgin] was at the same time ornamental and didactic, presenting to the faithful the image of the Madonna venerated inside the church."³²⁷ Thus the sacred icon inside the hallowed presbytery of the basilica was projected out into the public space where she was given even greater accessibility to the faithful citizens of Tivoli.³²⁸

This intersection of the religious and secular in the urban life of medieval Tivoli is seen from the fourteenth century onward in the founding of confraternities dedicated to saints' cults

³²³ For some examples from the fifteenth century, see appendix M.

³²⁴ In 1478 a marriage contract was drawn up in the chapel of S. Bernardino (ACT, Archivio notarile, reg. 8, f. 88v, 1/11/1478).

³²⁵ Villetti, "S. Maria Maggiore in Tivoli," 157.

³²⁶ He says that the church "habet portam maiorem cornicibus lapideis ornatam super quam adest imago beate Virginis licet excrustata et denigrata" (Visit of mons. Annibale de Grassi). See also Villetti, "Il complesso medievale di S. Maria in Tivoli," 161.

³²⁷ Franco Sciarretta, *Viaggio a Tivoli*, 156.

³²⁸ It may also be instructive to think about how the image of the *Madonna Avvocata* on the façade of the church could have functioned as a sign to the pilgrims who ascended to the church on their knees via the stone *scala sancta* discussed earlier. It would be interesting to know too if this external redaction of the *Madonna Avvocata* formed some kind of image program with the other frescoes depicting Mary and Christ described in the mid sixteenth-century depositions as decorating the stone arches in the church's piazza and at the adjacent apex of the stairs.

and the organized veneration and maintenance of images by local craft guilds. The *Confraternita del Salvatore* was the most prestigious of these societies. We do not have explicit textual records for an institution centered around the *Madonna delle Grazie* icon in the same period; however, given the prominence of her cult, it is not hard to imagine that such a confraternity or institution existed. We have concrete evidence of one later when in 1726 Giovanni Carlo Crocchianti recorded in his history of the churches of Tivoli that at the main altar of Sta. Maria Maggiore “from time immemorial the masons guild gathers; and by them at determined times and according to need is displayed the said image [of the *Madonna delle Grazie*], and they go about the city collecting offerings for her maintenance...”³²⁹

Lest we suspect that Crocchianti’s expression “da tempo immemorabile” is a colorful exaggeration or wishful thinking, we also have the record of Zappi who around two centuries earlier included in his description of the *Inchinata* the detail that as the *Trittico del Salvatore* icon approaches the piazza of Sta. Maria Maggiore at the end of the procession, the *Madonna delle Grazie* is carried out of the church to meet it by the “carpenters, artisans, and masons” (“falegnami, artigiani, et muratori”) who are charged with her care.³³⁰ Additionally, it was the cement layers and masons (“caementari et fornaciati”) who in the mid seventeenth century commissioned the ceremonial silver covering that still adorns the *Madonna delle Grazie* today at the feast of the Assumption and during the *Inchinata* ceremony.³³¹

³²⁹ Crocchianti, *Istoria delle chiese della citta di Tivoli*, 205. He also writes that, “So great is the faith of the citizens in this such venerable image, that in the time of their utmost need, they implore her for calm on occasions of rain, displaying the image, with permission though of the Capomilizia of our city, and they who desire obtain grace from her, and on these occasions, the whole time that she is displayed, she is maintained with offerings that are procured about the city by the masons, as we have said” (206).

³³⁰ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 84. See appendix E.

³³¹ The base of the silver covering bears the inscription “Ave gratia plena dominus tecum societas caementarum et fornaciatorum.” For the silver covering see Ines Maria Marcelli, “Il restauro della coperta argentea della ‘Madonna delle grazie’ di S. Maria Maggiore,” *AMSTSA* 68-69 (1995-96): 223-230.

Thus, beginning in the sixteenth century we have documentary evidence of what appears to be a company of local craft guilds organized around the veneration and maintenance of the *Madonna delle Grazie* icon and her cult. Whether we can push back in time the existence of this institution is a matter of conjecture. We do know, as discussed in chapter four, that by 1348 there existed in Tivoli a lay confraternity dedicated to the Virgin Mary—the *Confraternita del Annunziata* (or *Societas Recommandatorum gloriose beate Marie Virginis*).³³² Its seat was the *hospitale Annunziata* and connected church in the Santa Croce neighborhood.³³³ It is unclear from the surviving records however if the *Confraternita del Annunziata* venerated a particular image or had connections with the monastery of Sta. Maria Maggiore and its *Madonna delle Grazie*.³³⁴

What is clear however, is that the Tiburtine confraternity belonged to the Roman confederation of confraternities dedicated to the Virgin Mary, known as the *Raccomandati della Vergine* (and from the fifteenth century onward, *Arciconfraternità del Gonfalone*; “gonfalone” translates as “processional standard”), on which it was probably modeled, and which it officially joined between 1378 and 1380.³³⁵ The original Roman confraternity dates to at least 1267.³³⁶ Its

³³² ACM, 5.5.1, 127.

³³³ ACM, 5.5.1, ff. 9-10.

³³⁴ Crocchiante recorded in 1726 that the sixteenth-century reconstruction of the church of the Annunziata contained three altars, one of which was dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin. On this altar was venerated a stucco image of the Annunciation. The other two altars were dedicated to the Crucifixion and St John the Baptist (*Istoria delle chiese della città di Tivoli*, 123). We unfortunately do not know what image or images, if any, were venerated in the church in the fourteenth century.

³³⁵ A lapidary inscription (apparently preserved from the earlier church) on the wall of the sacristy of the church of the Annunziata at the time of Crocchiante reads, “Ven. Archiconfrat. Confalonis de Urbe, & ibi aggregatam societatem. Fra Filippo Geza S.R.E. Card. Tib. Antistite Societas cum Hospit. Prima incrementa suscepit” (Crocchiante, *Istoria delle chiese della città di Tivoli*, 121, 123-4). Cardinal Fra Filippo Ruffini Geza (previously bishop of Tivoli) was cardinal from 1378 until his death in 1380. Another plaque preserved in the church’s sacristy records that in 1388 Tivoli’s bishop Petro Cincio confirmed the confraternity and conceded to it an indulgence: “Petro Cincio Episcopo Tiburtino, qui Capitula Societatis confirmavit, & Indulgentiam X. dierum observare perpetuo concessit die x. Martii 1388” (Crocchiante, *Istoria delle chiese della città di Tivoli*, 123).

seat was the Roman basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore and its focus of veneration the *Salus Populi Romani* icon, one of oldest Marian icons in Rome and one of the most revered in the city by that time.³³⁷ Over the succeeding decades similar groups sprang up around Rome and began to unite and join themselves to that of Sta. Maria Maggiore. This phenomenon was followed by a similar trend in Lazio, as is demonstrated by the example of Tivoli.

We know, therefore, that Tivoli's *Confraternita del Annunziata* was affiliated with a Roman institution organized around the veneration of a Marian icon. While this icon was not of the same iconographic type as Tivoli's *Madonna delle Grazie*, that does not preclude the possibility that the Tiburtine institution played a role similar to that of the Roma *Gonfalone* at the feast of the Assumption. The *Gonfalone* were the handlers of the *Salus Populi Romani* icon in the August 14-15 procession, at least as early as the fifteenth century.³³⁸ Also, included among the laudes and poems in the archive of the confraternity is a 1499 transcription of a *Carmina in honorem Salvatoris et Gloriosa Virginis* which, according to Barbara Wisch, seems to have been composed and sung for the feast of the Assumption.³³⁹ Given the shared origins of the Tivoli *Gonfalone* with its Roman counterpart it is not unreasonable to consider that the Tiburtine group had similar duties in its own local Assumption festival. We cannot say with certainty due to the

³³⁶ The earliest surviving documentary source that specifically refers to the confraternity of the *Raccomandati* is a document of Clement IV dated November 25, 1267. It is published in J.M. Pou Y Martí, "*Litterae confraternitatis a s. Bonaventura societati Recommendatorum B.M.V. Romae concesae a. 1268*," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 17 (1924): 448-453. It describes the requirements of the confratelli for making confession, taking communion, and other prescriptions for righteous conduct. It also records a papal concession of 100 days of indulgence for every confession and communion piously celebrated.

³³⁷ For the history of the confraternity, its seat at Sta. Maria Maggiore, and its veneration of the *Salus Populi Romani* icon, see Barone, "Il Movimento francescano"; Pagano, *L'Archivio dell' Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone*; and Wisch, "Keys to Success."

³³⁸ See discussion in chapter two.

³³⁹ Wisch, "Keys to Success," 175. She includes the text of the hymn in both Latin and English.

lacunae in the documentary record. Nevertheless, there is one further factor that could be considered as we ponder the possibility of parallel duties: the connection between the Roman *Gonfalone* and the Franciscans, a connection that perhaps extended to Tivoli as well.

Almost from its beginnings, the Franciscan monastic order was associated with Marian confraternities. In Bonaventure's first year as head of the order (1257), a number of confraternities jointly dedicated to the Virgin and St Francis emerged throughout central Italy and—at the request of the Franciscans—received official recognition in papal bulls (for example in Bagnoregio, Montefalco, Osimo, Recanati, Tuscania, Cortona, Orvieto), and in the northern provinces (Reggio Emilia, Brescia, Ferrara, Milan, Parma).³⁴⁰ In 1267 the *Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone* received its statutes from Franciscan Benvenuto da Orvieto.³⁴¹ In 1268 Bonaventure took the confraternity under the protection of the Franciscan order and conceded to its members the same spiritual benefits enjoyed by the friars themselves.³⁴² Given the strong connection between the Franciscan friars and Marian confraternities in Rome and central Italy from the second half of the thirteenth century—and with the *Raccomandati/Gonfalone* in particular—and considering the known alliance between the Roman *Gonfalone* and the Tiburtine *Confraternita del Annunziata*, the possibility that the latter was connected somehow to the Tiburtine church of Sta. Maria Maggiore and the cult of its icon, the *Madonna delle Grazie*, is certainly not out of the question.

³⁴⁰ Servus Gieben, “Confraternite e penitenti dell’area francescana,” *Francescanesimo e vita religiosa*, 183-4.

³⁴¹ Gieben, “Confraternite e penitenti,” 186-7; and Pagano, *L’Archivio dell’ Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone*, 19. The statutes for the *Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone* were issued with the approval of Dominican Tommaso de’ Fusconi, papal vicar for the city of Rome. They are reported in a document in the Archivio di S. Rufino di Assisi (cart. III, n. 121), sent from Rome at the organization of the “fraternità di Raccomandati” in Assisi in June, 1273. For more on this document see Gieben, “Confraternite e penitenti,” 187.

³⁴² Gieben, “Confraternite e penitenti,” 187-88; Barone, “Il Movimento francescano,” 76; and Pagano, *L’Archivio dell’ Arciconfraternita del Gonfalone*, 19. Gieben and Barone observe, however, that later the Dominicans and Augustinians also took under their protection the *Societas recommenatorum B. Virginis in urbe Roma*, so it was not exclusively the Franciscans who encouraged and became involved with the Roman Marian society.

5.7 CONCLUSION

Tivoli's *Madonna delle Grazie*, deriving from the family of medieval Roman *Avvocata* panels, and most likely from the Madonna of Aracoeli in particular, carried both explicit theological significance related to Assumption doctrine, and implicit associations of mendicant authority and civic autonomy. The icon may have also been venerated and maintained by a local lay confraternity with links to the Roman organization on which it was modeled. The religious and cultural milieu of Rome in the thirteen and fourteenth centuries had a profound influence on the reception history and function of the *Madonna delle Grazie* in Tivoli in this period. Nevertheless, the icon is a unique image with a unique story. This chapter has examined the most likely mode of transmission of the monumental *Avvocata* image type from Rome to Tivoli and then proposed a model for its function in this new context.

The image had special meaning and power for a group of Franciscans in an initially hostile urban environment whose opposition to the new friars in the mid thirteenth century is well documented. The icon eventually took on the role of civic symbol for a nascent municipal commune becoming increasingly inclined to embrace the *cura animarum* of the mendicants in the face of perennial clashes with the papacy and local episcopal leadership. Understanding the association of the icon's *Avvocata* imagery with autonomy from established ecclesiastical control, the direct intercessory power of the Virgin, and the new spirituality of mendicant catholicism sheds light on the picture's appeal for the citizens of Tivoli in this particular period. Further, understanding how the Franciscan church of Sta. Maria Maggiore functioned as an important civic and cult site of the commune gives us insight into its role as the scene of the dramatic ritual finale at the culmination of the *Inchinata* procession, the city's grandest public event of the liturgical year—an event that represented the citizens and all their religious,

administrative, commercial, and philanthropic institutions. It also helps us understand why the church's icon was one of the featured focal points in the dramatic spectacle. The *Madonna delle Grazie* of Sta. Maria Maggiore had become not just a symbol of the Franciscans and their church, but of the city itself.

6.0 MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN ASSUMPTION PROCESSIONS IN LAZIO: THE MATERIAL AND TEXTUAL EVIDENCE OF A REGIONAL TRADITION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

It is a commonplace in the literature on the Roman Assumption procession to give a mention—usually cursorily—to the influence of this liturgical tradition in other parts of Lazio in the late Middle Ages.³⁴³ Usually, these studies cite as the primary evidence of this phenomenon the existence of the numerous medieval replicas of the *Acheropita*. Indeed, comprising a distinctive stylistic and iconographic family, these panel paintings are indisputably modeled on the Roman archetype, and a number of them are well worn at the bottom, probably from repeated ritual washings of the icons’ “feet.”

Existing scholarship has neglected, however, the *literary* evidence that in the Middle Ages these icons were carried in processions at the feast of the Assumption and engaged in symbolic encounters with Mary. Most studies are vague about what we actually know about the histories and performances of the Laziale Assumption rituals. Modern scholarly works cite as literary evidence one or both of two sources. The first is a mid eighteenth-century history of the *Acheropita* by Giovanni Marangoni containing descriptions of some of the icon’s replicas

³⁴³ Marangoni, *Cappella di San Lorenzo*, 139-149; Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, 1105-1120; Volbach, “Il Cristo di Sutri”; Garrison, “The Christ Enthroned at Casape”; Italo Faldi and Luisa Mortari eds., *Pittura Viterbese dal 14. al 16 secolo*, (Viterbo: Agnesotti, 1954) 17-24, 26 and plates 1, 4-6, 8, 10, 14; Caraffa, “La processione del SS. Salvatore a Roma,” 143-146; Kitzinger, “A Virgin’s Face,” 13, 16-17; Tronzo, “Apse Decoration,” 177-178, ; Belting, “Icons and Roman Society,” 36-41; Gerhard, *Salus Populi Romani*, 33, 73-76, 79-80; Bolton, “‘Except the Lord Keep the City’,” 214-216; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 323-329; Parlato, “Le icone in processione,” 81-84; Angelelli, “La diffusione dell’immagine lateranense”; Parlato, “La processione di Ferragosto”; Zchomelidse, “The Aura of the Numinous,” 239-257.

outside of Rome and their ritual use at the feast of the Assumption.³⁴⁴ The second is a 1940 article by Wolfgang Volbach which briefly mentions some late medieval and early modern municipal and confraternity statutes that record the event in several cities.³⁴⁵ However, the actual contents of these early texts are never discussed or analyzed, their locations are never mentioned or are extremely vague, and their potential to elucidate the diffusion of the Roman Assumption rituals in Lazio remains unexploited. Another problem is the absence of studies that seek to identify and analyze the Marian images that were paired with the better-known Savior icons in ritual encounters that presumably occurred in the Assumption processions.

The lack of attention to these matters is problematic in part because the widespread replication of the Roman Assumption procession as a medieval phenomenon (as opposed to one of the Renaissance era or later) is mostly presumed, based on its repeated claim in the secondary literature, rather than substantiated with direct examination of the original textual evidence. For instance, it is unclear whether the practice of the Assumption procession in Lazio conformed to a single model or was subject to looser local interpretations. Further, existing scholarship does not define how—and why—the Lazio Assumption processions and their ritual use of images were distinct from performative traditions outside of Lazio at the feast of the Assumption. This must be addressed because processions at the feast of the Assumption were performed throughout Europe and the Christian East, and many of them involved sacred images. So the question is, in other words, what made the Laziale processions unique? This chapter will treat these problems. It does not seek to present an exhaustive examination of the history of Assumption rituals and imagery in these regions, due to the necessarily limited scope of this comparative study within

³⁴⁴ Marangoni, *Cappella di San Lorenzo*, 139-149.

³⁴⁵ Volbach, “Il Cristo di Sutri” (Volbach discusses the statutes on pages 119-120).

the broader objectives of my dissertation. Rather, this chapter intends to examine various aspects of selected cases, based on the available source material, with the purpose of 1) making a comparison with Tivoli's *Inchinata*, and 2) drawing some conclusions and posing further questions that may contribute to the development of a working critical paradigm on the Lazio processions.

6.2 THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE: A LAZIO FAMILY OF SAVIOR ICONS

As early as the mid eighteenth century, beginning with Giovanni Marangoni's *Istoria dell'antichissimo oratorio, o cappella di San Lorenzo*, scholars have been aware of a distinctive family of late medieval Savior images in Lazio inspired by the sixth-century Lateran *Acheropita*. There is only one member of this family found outside Lazio: in Perugia in neighboring Umbria.³⁴⁶ These images are panel paintings that typically depict the enthroned Christ holding a book with his left hand and making a sign of blessing with his right. For this reason the images are sometimes referred to as *Cristo benedicente* or "blessing Christ" panels. Stylistically, the images share a medieval Roman painting technique influenced by Byzantine tradition. The images usually considered as comprising this family were made between the early twelfth and early fourteenth century. They are in Tivoli (late eleventh or early twelfth century), Casape (mid twelfth century), Tarquinia (between second half of twelfth and first half of thirteenth century), Velletri (late twelfth or early thirteenth century), Capranica (between late twelfth and mid thirteenth century), Trevignano (between late twelfth and mid thirteenth century), Perugia (early

³⁴⁶ Since the Perugia panel is the unique example outside of Lazio, for the sake of convenience I will refer to the family of Savior icons treated in this chapter as the "Lazio" or "Laziale" icons. I will discuss the exceptional case of Perugia in detail later in this chapter.

thirteenth century), Sutri (thirteenth century), Viterbo (thirteenth century), Anagni (thirteenth century), Civita Castellana (end of thirteenth or beginning of fourteenth century), Palombara (first half of fourteenth century), and Bracciano (1305).³⁴⁷

Related to this “medieval” family of Laziale Savior panels is a second group of later panel paintings featuring a similar subject and composition.³⁴⁸ These images were made between the end of the fourteenth and the sixteenth century. Because of their late date and the multiple variations in their style and iconography which indicate a cultural and artistic break with the earlier images, they are not normally discussed in the same analytical context as the earlier panels. I too will focus on the earlier medieval images except in instances where reference to certain later examples is useful in analyzing traditions of ritual practice.

It is generally accepted that the Lateran *Acheropita* was the archetype for the medieval Savior Enthroned panels, and that these replicas were made in response to the spread of the *Acheropita*’s cult in Lazio beginning around the early twelfth century. However, it is unclear to what extent the panels are literal “copies” of the *Acheropita*. By the twelfth century the *Acheropita* was hidden behind various types of coverings: first by a veil of silk and later by a decorative silver panel.³⁴⁹ Moreover, from the handling and ritual washings it had undergone in numerous processions over the centuries, much of the panel may have been ruined by the late Middle Ages anyway, making copying a practical impossibility. Thus, the Laziale “replicas” may have been such in inspiration only, looking to each other or to other sources for

³⁴⁷ For the dating of the icons, see Volbach, “Il Cristo di Sutri”; *La Pittura Viterbese*, 17-24, 26; Garrison, “The Christ Enthroned at Casape”; Angelelli, “La diffusione dell’immagine lateranense”; and Zchomelidse, “The Aura of the Numinous.”

³⁴⁸ This group includes images in Ronciglione, Nepi, Frascati, Vetralla, Chia, Civitavecchia, Fiano Romano, Rignano Flaminio, Soriano, Palestrina, Mazzano Romano, Sambuci, Sacrofano, Tolfa, Cerveteri, Rocca di Papa, Segni, Alatri, Magliano Sabina, and other cities and towns in Lazio.

³⁴⁹ The textual sources on the silk and metal coverings of the *Acheropita* are discussed later in this chapter.

iconographic and compositional details.³⁵⁰ It has been posited that Tivoli's Savior triptych, dating to the early twelfth or even late eleventh century—before the Lateran *Acheropita* was permanently covered up by its silver revetment—was in fact a “copy” of the exemplar in the literal sense.³⁵¹ Thus it may have itself served as a model for some of the other panels. One instance where this was definitely *not* the case is in Palombara where the figure of Christ is depicted only as a head and neck above a rectangular panel representing an embossed metal revetment; in other words, a literal copy of the Lateran *Acheropita*, *after* it received its silver and gilt ceremonial cladding. It is clear from other iconographic and compositional variations among the icons that they were inspired by multiple rather than a single source. In the Tarquinia panel Christ is depicted standing instead of seated on a throne, his left hand holding a scroll instead of a book, and his right hand making a blessing gesture with open palm instead of thumb and fingers touching as in the other panels. The Perugia panel depicts Christ standing and holding a cross-staff instead of a book with his left hand. To these typological variations can be added the early thirteenth-century wooden relief panel of Castelchiodato that depicts Christ Enthroned with two women, one anointing his head and the other his feet.

Sources for the iconographic details of the Lazio Savior panels may have included the Early Christian and early medieval apse mosaics in basilicas around Rome that featured a seated or standing Christ holding a book or scroll and making a gesture of teaching or blessing (Sta. Costanza, Sta. Pudenziana, SS. Cosma e Damiano, Sta. Prassede). Herbert Kessler and Nino Zchomelidse, in fact, have observed that the appearance in Tivoli's Savior panel of the Four

³⁵⁰ For a detailed discussion of the iconographic and stylistic variations in the Lazio Savior panels and the problems with an assumption that the Lateran *Acheropita* was the unique and literal model for all of them, see Garrison, “The Christ Enthroned at Casape.”

³⁵¹ Kessler, “The Acheropita Triptych in Tivoli.”

Rivers of Paradise suggests an iconographic model in one or more of the Roman apse mosaics that depict this motif (e.g. Sta. Costanza, SS. Cosma e Damiano, Sta. Prassede, and possibly also St Peter's and the Lateran basilica).³⁵²

Some of the panels, such as those in Tivoli, Viterbo, Anagni, Trevignano, and Bracciano are part of triptychs. Those in Sutri, Casape, Velletri, and Palombara probably once had wings which were later removed, as is evident from bilateral signs of wear on the panels indicating the presence of hinges.³⁵³ Some of the panels do not show these tell-tale signs of wear, or they have been cut down on the sides rendering it impossible to know to what extent the images as a family functioned as triptychs.³⁵⁴ The figures on the wings of the triptychs in Tivoli, Viterbo, and Trevignano are the *Madonna Avvocata* and John the Evangelist: a variation on the traditional tripartite intercessory composition of the *deesis*.³⁵⁵ In Anagni's triptych, however, Christ is flanked by Mary and St Andrew Segni, a local thirteenth-century saint and titular of the church in which the triptych was kept (evidence that in some cases iconographic variation among the panels may be explained by local tradition or preference). In Bracciano Mary does not appear in the *deesis* scene at all; instead, the central figure of Christ is flanked by John the Baptist and St Nicholas.

³⁵² Kessler, "The Acheropita Triptych in Tivoli," 117; Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous," 239.

³⁵³ Volbach, "Il Cristo di Sutri," 106; Garrison, "The Christ Enthroned at Casape," 6; and Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous," 245.

³⁵⁴ However, the triptych arrangement, or physical evidence thereof, is so common among the panels that several scholars have surmised that it was likely the rule rather than the exception, and that the Lateran *Acheropita* was probably also displayed in this manner in the late Middle Ages (the silver-clad wooden wings attached to the *Acheropita* today, depicting the Annunciation, John the Baptist, and other saints, were made for the Jubilee of 1650). See Garrison, "The Christ Enthroned at Casape," 6; Kessler, "The Acheropita Triptych in Tivoli," 118; and Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous," 244-245. Moreover, as discussed in chapter two, the late eleventh-century fresco in the oratory of San Sebastiano beneath the *Sancta Sanctorum* with Christ flanked by the interceding Virgin reveals the tradition of depicting the frontal, blessing Christ in this type of group composition to be quite ancient at the Lateran.

³⁵⁵ Most representations of the *deesis* in both the Christian East and the Latin West feature the Virgin and John the Baptist flanking the central figure of Christ. For a detailed discussion of the iconography of the *deesis*, see Maria Andaloro, "Note sui temi iconografici della *deesis*." See also my discussions in chapters 2 and 5.

Another interesting variation among the Savior panels is that a number of them (including most of the oldest), contain relic niches, usually at the level of Christ's chest. These panels are Sutri, Casape, Trevignano, Tarquinia, Velletri, Capranica, Castelchiodato, and Anagni.³⁵⁶ The presence of these niches raises intriguing questions about the dual function of at least some of the Laziale images as icon-reliquaries.³⁵⁷

In spite of the formal variations among the Lazio Savior panels, physical and iconographic evidence offers persuasive clues that, following the model of Rome, the panels were made to be carried in processions at the feast of the Assumption, or that they at least functioned in that manner from an early date. Distinctive damage to the bottom of the panel has been observed in a number of cases, indicting a widespread practice of ritually washing the "feet" of the Savior images, a rite documented in the Roman Assumption procession from the twelfth century.³⁵⁸ This damage presents itself as erosion along the bottom of some of the panels and in the manner in which the bottoms of others have been sawn off, probably because the water damage at some point was deemed irreparable. In yet other cases there has been obvious re-painting focused on the bottom of the panel.³⁵⁹

Iconographic evidence too suggests that the Savior panels were intended for featured use at the feast of the Assumption. As has already been discussed in several parts of this dissertation, important theological elements of the Assumption at the time of its making are featured in the

³⁵⁶ Volbach, "Il Cristo di Sutri," 97, 111-112; Garrison, "The Christ Enthroned at Casape," 10; Parlato, "La processione di Ferragosto," 60.

³⁵⁷ For the most recent and comprehensive discussion of the relic niches in the Laziale panels, see Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous," 254-257.

³⁵⁸ See chapter two for a discussion of Canon Benedict's description in the *Liber Politicus* (c. 1140) of the ritual kissing and washing the feet of the *Acheropita* at the feast of the Assumption.

³⁵⁹ Volbach, "Il Cristo di Sutri," 97, 110; Parlato, "La processione di Ferragosto," 60; Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous," 243.

Tivoli triptych: the intercessory composition of the *deesis* formed by Christ flanked by the Virgin and John the Evangelist, and the narrative scene of the Virgin's Dormition/Assumption on the bottom of the triptych's left wing.³⁶⁰ As mentioned above, the *deesis* in different variations is also represented in the triptychs of Viterbo, Trevignano, Anagni, and Bracciano. Moreover, the exterior of the Bracciano triptych features a scene of the Virgin's Assumption, or more specifically the *Madonna della Cintola* ("Madonna of the Girdle"), referencing the ancient tradition of the Virgin's gift of her girdle or belt to St Thomas as she rose into heaven. Also the fifteenth-century Tuscania triptych depicts on the reverse an image of the Assumption. Additionally, a scene of the Virgin's Assumption was added in the early modern period to the reverse of the twelfth- or thirteenth-century Savior panel in Tarquinia.³⁶¹ While this was a post-medieval intervention it serves as further evidence of the enduring connection between Laziale Savior panels and the feast of the Assumption. Similarly, in 1453 to the reverse of the Savior panel in Perugia was added a scene in wooden relief of the Assumption/*Synthronos* (Christ and the Virgin seated together on one throne). While this also is a relatively late intervention, it is possible that the relief replaced some kind of earlier scene of the Assumption that by the fifteenth century was ruined or deemed inadequate, since there is both physical and textual evidence that the Perugia Savior panel was carried in that city's Assumption procession since the thirteenth century.³⁶² Furthermore, there is the case discussed in the previous chapter of the intervention in

³⁶⁰ See chapters two, three, and five for more detailed discussions of the connections between the iconography of Tivoli's Savior Triptych and the theology of the Assumption.

³⁶¹ Lorenzo Balduino, "La chiesa del S. Salvatore," *Il Campanone*, anno 4, n. 8 (August, 1990): 7. The canvas with the Assumption was removed from the panel and mounted in the sacristy of the Tarquinia cathedral. The Savior panel itself, also kept in the cathedral in the past, is now displayed in the Museo Diocesano di Arte Sacra di Tarquinia.

³⁶² The documentary record of the Perugia Savior panel and Assumption procession will be discussed later in this chapter.

Vetralla around the year 1400 in which a half-length image of a blessing Christ belonging to the same iconographic type as the other Laziale panels was painted on the back of a twelfth-century icon of the *Madonna Avvocata* in the Duomo. It seems this Savior image was meant to replace a lost full-length original that had been used in Vetralla's Assumption procession, which likely involved a ritual encounter between the Savior image and the *Avvocata*, on the back of which it was later re-painted.³⁶³ Another iconographic clue to the function of the Lazio Savior icons is the wooden relief panel in Castelchiodato in which the two female figures washing and anointing Christ's head and feet could allude to the ritual washings of the Lateran *Acheropita* at the celebrations of the Assumption and Easter.³⁶⁴ Possibly the Castelchiodato relief itself underwent such ritual treatment in its own local celebrations.

Finally, there is physical evidence that following the model of Rome several cities employed various kinds of ceremonial coverings to hide the face and/or body of their Savior panels when they carried them in procession. English canon lawyer Gervase of Tilbury recorded around 1212 that Pope Alexander III (1159-81) had the Lateran *Acheropita* covered by a great drape of silk because it frightened those that looked at it too long, to the point of putting their life in danger.³⁶⁵ In 1216 ecclesiastic and chronicler Gerald of Wales recorded in his *Speculum ecclesiae* that Pope Innocent III commissioned a cover for the *Acheropita* of gilded silver (*cooperta fuit auro et argento*), which he saw in person. Gerald describes the cover as a screen

³⁶³ Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 325.

³⁶⁴ Volbach, "Il Cristo di Sutri," 109; Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 325; Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous," 243.

³⁶⁵ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, eds. S.E. Banks and J.S. Binns (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 606: "Est et alia dominici vultus effigies, in tabula aequae impressa, in oratorio sancti Laurentii in palatio Lateranensi, quam sancte memorie nostri temporis papa Alexander tertius multiplici panno Serico operuit, eo quod attentius intuentibus tremorem cum mortis periculo inferret."

that protected observers and allowed them to see only the face and feet of the image.³⁶⁶ The ritual washings and anointings during the Assumption procession were performed through an opening over the right knee (*tota praeter genu dextrum, a quo oleum indesinenter emanat*).³⁶⁷

As discussed in chapter two, Tivoli's Savior triptych received a gilt silver revetment in 1449 to replace an older one, possibly of the early thirteenth century. While I am unaware of a surviving metal ceremonial covering for any of the other Laziale Savior icons, at Velletri when that city's Savior panel was restored in 1912 the body of the figure was still covered with layers of red silk.³⁶⁸ Similarly, at Palombara marks on the upper half of the Savior icon's neck indicate the application of a veil to hide its face and points of damage along Christ's "body" indicate that a metal cover had once been applied.³⁶⁹

Thus, the Laziale Savior panels' iconography, characteristically ruined or conspicuously re-painted feet, and ceremonial coverings (or evidence thereof) inspired by practices with the Lateran *Acheropita* offer clues that in the Middle Ages these images were widely carried in local Assumption processions and used in ritual ceremonies. Many of the images visually referenced the apocryphal legends or theology of the Virgin's Assumption, they engaged in ritual cleansings, and they were deliberately covered to enhance their mystical powers.

These conclusions drawn from the physical and formal evidence are strengthened and illuminated by the documentary sources, the first systematic (although necessarily limited)

³⁶⁶ Gerald of Wales, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London: Longman, 1873), 278.

³⁶⁷ In addition to protecting viewers from the image's awesome power, which was believed to threaten physical harm to those who gazed upon it, veiling the face and body of the Lateran *Acheropita* enhanced its theatrical and "numinous" quality (presence of divinity) through a kind of mystical decorporealization. The medieval practice of veiling images, shrines, and sacred spaces may also be connected to the frequent use of the veil as a *topos* in the Old and New Testaments and in theological commentaries that used the metaphor of veiling to explain Christ's dual nature. See Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous," 226-232; and Parlato, "Le icone in processione," 84-87.

³⁶⁸ Attilio Gabrielli, *La cattedrale di Velletri nella storia e nell'arte* (Velletri: P. Stracca, 1918), 66.

³⁶⁹ Angelelli, "La diffusione dell'immagine lateranense," 61; Zchomelidse, "The Aura of the Numinous," 243.

examination of which I will present in this chapter. The textual records not only confirm that Assumption processions in which the Savior panels were ritually carried were in fact widespread in Lazio (and beyond into Perugia) by the late Middle Ages, but they also offer additional details about how those processions were performed. The following sections of this chapter will examine the textual records and discuss what they explicitly and implicitly reveal about modalities of processional practice at the feast of the Assumption in Lazio, how they compare and contrast with processional practices at the Assumption in *other* parts of central Italy, and the ecclesiastical and civic forces at work in those practices.

6.3 THE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

6.3.1 Viterbo

Chapter one of the 1384 statutes of the Viterbo butchers guild³⁷⁰ mandates that at the feasts of *Corpus Christi* and the Assumption the members must accompany the guild officials in procession, each carrying a candle, and those who fail to fulfill the obligation will be fined 10 soldi.³⁷¹ Chapter two specifies that on the eve of the Assumption the guild makes an offering of a candle when the Savior icon “rests in the church of Santa Maria Nuova.”³⁷² This church, the

³⁷⁰ Viterbo, Biblioteca degli Ardent, ms. II G I 4.

³⁷¹ “Nella festa della Trinitate del Corpo di Cristo e di Sancta Maria d’agosto omne iurato all’arte deva accompagnare Rectori colle facule in mano alla pena di X soldi per ciasche fiata” (as transcribed from the original text by Giuseppe Petrilli in his university thesis “L’ arte del macello minore di Viterbo,” Università di Roma, La Sapienza, 1966-67, 118).

³⁷² “Auque statuimo che quando lu salvatore cioe’ nella vigilia di Sancta Maria d’agosto si riposa alla ecclesia di Sancta Maria Nova chel ierio dell’arte sia pesato et sia segnato dal Camerlengo esso cerio ponderato novo alla Cammora della detta arte e chi contra facesse siali tolta la pena al decto Camerlengo ad arbitrario di Rectori” (Petrilli, “L’ arte del macello minore di Viterbo,” 125).

home of Viterbo's Savior panel, was a collegiate church governed by a group of regular canons and had a particular importance in the civic life of the city. Founded in 1080 it was the seat of civic assemblies and home of the city's archive, as is specified in the 1469 municipal statutes.³⁷³ The description of the offering made "when the Savior rests in Santa Maria Nuova" must refer to a ritual performed before the Savior left the church to go in procession to the cathedral or when it returned afterward (if it did so on the same night, since the statutes explicitly state that the candle ritual is performed on the vigil of the Assumption).

Book IV, chapter 60 of the 1469 city statutes specifies that on the feast day of San Lorenzo and on the eve of the Assumption the city officials are to make an offering of two candles of 25 pounds in Sta. Maria Nuova while mass is said and are to accompany the Savior icon to the cathedral of S. Lorenzo with a new wax candle.³⁷⁴ Chapter 146 (*Modus et forma festivitatum corporis Christi, Sancte Marie de Mense Augusti, Sancte Trinitatis, in predictis festivitibus per populum Viterbiensem*) states that at the feasts of Easter, *Corpus Christi*, and the Trinity, on the eve of the Assumption, and on the day after Pentecost, the guilds of the city

³⁷³ *Lo statuto del comune di Viterbo del 1469*, ed. Corrado Buzzi (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2004), 65: "Statuimus etiam quod claves archarum Communis, que sunt apud ecclesiam Sancte Marie Nove, et omnes alias claves archarum existentium apud ecclesiam S. Sixti teneant quatur boni viri eligendi per dominos priores et confalonerium de populo, de quolibet porta unus et quibus consuerverunt libri et iura Communis dari, qui sint superstites et iurent ipsas claves et bona custodire legaliter et salvare et libros et scripturas nemini ostendere vel archam aliquo modo aperire sine presentia quatuor ex dominis prioribus et confalonerii de populo et sine duobus et eis superstilibus, ad penam ducentarum librarum pro quolibet eorum." For more on the history of this church, see *Cronache e statuti della città di Viterbo*, ed. Ignazio Ciampi (Florence: Cellini, 1872), 281-286; and Andrea Scriattoli, *Viterbo nei suoi monumenti* (Rome: F.lli Capaccini, 1915), 188-195.

³⁷⁴ *Lo Statuto del comune di Viterbo*, 318: "In festo sancti Laurentii in festivitate ipsius ecclesie cum honorabili consilio teneantur potestas et domini priores unum cereum cere nove in vigilia Assumptionis beate Marie virginis associare Salvatorem usque ad ecclesiam Sancti Laurentii duobus cereis .XXV. librarum pro quolibet cereo et maxime festivitibus predictis offerre in ecclesia Sancte Marie Nove dum missarum solemnias celebrantur in illa..."

are to gather at the sound of the bell in the city square to follow in procession the Savior icon and the holy sacrament.³⁷⁵

An eighteenth-century history of Viterbo by Feliciano Bussi tells of the recent discovery of an “ancient document” recorded in the city’s *Libro delle riforme* (“Book of Reforms”) of the years 1716-1717. This “ancient document” purportedly contained an account of an event concerning the Savior icon that took place in 1283. In that year some plowmen found buried in a field a stone casket containing the Savior icon. Six priests took the icon to the church of Sta. Maria Nuova, for which reason it came to be known also as the church of the Savior. From that time forward, every year on the eve of the Assumption the image was carried through the city in procession.³⁷⁶ In the mid nineteenth century local historian Francesco Orioli suggested that the icon was buried to protect it during the siege of Frederick II in 1243.³⁷⁷ Since the earliest surviving textual source for the account dates to the early eighteenth century, and it contains narrative *topoi* often found elsewhere in Lazio to explain the origins of prized local artworks and relics, it seems likely that the story is an early modern legend. Nevertheless, it serves as a useful additional testimony of the enduring tradition of the Assumption procession in Viterbo and its practice of ritually carrying the Savior icon, since by the early eighteenth century the practice was obviously very old and much venerated.

³⁷⁵ *Lo Statute del comune di Viterbo*, 360-61: “Ad exaltationem et manutentionem dominorum priorum de populo presentium et futurorum, rectorum artium et ipsarum artium statuimus et firmiter ordinamus quod in festo Pascatis, gloriosi Corporis Christi ac in vigilia beate Marie de mense augusti et in festo Trinitatis, die immediate sequenti post festum Pentecostes, annis singulis in dictis festis singuli rectores artium civitatis Viterbii suos iuratos in ipsorum locis consuetis teneantur et debeant facere congregari et venire ad sonum campane sive signum quod ponetur per dominos priores ad plateam Communis Viterbii et sequi Salvatorem et Corpus Christi.”

³⁷⁶ Feliciano Bussi, *Istoria della citta' di Viterbo* (Rome: Bernabo e Lazzarini, 1742), 173-74.

³⁷⁷ Orioli, *Florilegio viterbese, ossia notizie diverse intorno a Viterbo e alle sue adiacenze* (Rome: Tip. delle Belle Arti, 1855), 141-142.

6.3.2 Tarquinia

Chapter 16 of the 1379 statutes of the green grocers of Tarquinia (Corneto until 1872) specify that every year on the eve of the feast of the Assumption the members of the guild are to make an offering of a candle of pure wax weighing 30 pounds. With this candle they are to accompany the Savior icon in procession and to conduct it back to its church “according to custom.”³⁷⁸

The statutes do not specify the name of the church that was home to the icon or what church served as the destination of the procession.³⁷⁹ However, a 1699 pastoral visit of Cardinal Marcantonio Barbarigo speaks of an ancient Savior image in the co-cathedral of Santi Margherita e Martino that was venerated by the faithful of the city “with the greatest devotion” and was carried in procession “with a great concourse of clergy and the people” every year at the feast of the Assumption of August 15.³⁸⁰ It is likely that the cathedral was always the home of the icon.³⁸¹ According to a modern history of the city, on the eve of the Assumption the Savior icon was historically carried out of the cathedral to the church of Santa Maria in Castello, a

³⁷⁸ *Lo Statuto dell'arte degli ortolani dell'anno 1379*, ed. Francesco Guerri (Rome: G. Bertero, 1909), 15-17: “Esso cerio sia portato per la terra ne la vigilia de la dicta festa di po la immagine del Salvatore, secome e' per costume... E da poi ke serra' reportata la immagine dell'altissimo Salvatore per la terra e reconducta a la chiesa.”

³⁷⁹ Editor Francesco Guerri stated in a footnote to the text of the statutes that the church referred to was SS. Salvatore; however, this seems to be a supposition based on the presence in the church's apse of a fresco of a blessing Christ. I know of no textual evidence that the icon was kept in this church. Seventeenth-century Tarquinia chronicler Muzio Polidori recorded in the fourteenth century that the church belonged to the friars of St Anthony of Tau (Polidori, *Croniche di Corneto*, ed. Anna Rita Moschetti [Tarquinia: Societa tarquiniense di arte e storia, 1977], 107). Because SS. Salvatore was a monastic church, I question Guerri's claim that it was the home of the Savior icon. In no other case that I am aware of were any of the Laziale Savior icons housed in a monastic church.

³⁸⁰ Card. Marcantonio Barbarigo, *Costituzioni sinodali e visita pastorale del 1699*, ed. Giovanni Insolera (Tarquinia: Quaderni dell'Ufficio beni culturali, 2008), 202: “...qui effigiem de S. Salvatoris, quae modo in illius Altari conspicitur, et maxime a fidelibus quam religiosissime veneratam ex armario...Defertur haec devota et vetusta effigies processionaliter quotannis a Clero Capitulari in Festivitate quae fit praecipue die 15 Augusti magno cum Cleri et Populi interventu.”

³⁸¹ Today the panel is displayed in the Museo diocesano di arte sacra di Tarquinia.

collegiate church and the religious center of the city until Tarquinia received its own episcopacy in 1435 and SS. Margherita e Martino became the cathedral³⁸² (Tarquinia today is part of the diocese of Civitavecchia-Tarquinia).

5.3.3 Subiaco

Subiaco is one of the few cities that still practices the Assumption procession today.³⁸³ As in Tivoli, it is called the *Inchinata*.³⁸⁴ Today, on the evening before the Assumption, a modern image of the Enthroned Savior (a replacement for a lost original) is carried in procession from the cathedral of Sant'Andrea, which is located at the bottom of the steep hill that is home to Subiaco's medieval center. Accompanied by the bishop and the faithful intoning prayers and hymns, the image winds up the hill through the heart of the historic city toward the piazza of Santa Maria in Valle, a parish church and the city's principle Marian foundation. As the Savior image makes its way a second procession carries a fourteenth-century image of the Madonna Assunta³⁸⁵ out of Sta. Maria della Valle, ascending the hill to the upper edge of the city, at which point it is carried back down to the piazza from whence it left. Here it awaits the Savior image. Upon the Son's arrival, the enormous litters carrying the two images are inclined toward each other three times as the faithful shout "Misericordia! Misericordia!" The images are then carried,

³⁸² Mario Corteselli, *Corneto com'era: chiese, confraternite e conventi cornetani d'un tempo* (Tarquinia: Societa Tarquiniense di Arte e Storia, 1983), 92.

³⁸³ Tivoli and Subiaco are the only two cities I know of in Lazio that have documented medieval or early modern Assumption processions with medieval Savior panels that have retained the tradition to the present day. There are a few other cities, such as Orte and Capena, that today practice Assumption processions with ritual images, but their images are not medieval, and I am not aware of documentation confirming how far their processions go back. In this chapter I only analyze the cities where medieval or, at the very least, early modern processions are a certainty.

³⁸⁴ The following description of the procession is based on my personal observations of the event in August, 2010.

³⁸⁵ The Assumption panel is said by the locals to be of the fourteenth century, but it was probably repainted later since the style and the presence of putti are obviously early modern.

the Virgin following her son, into Sta. Maria della Valle where they are positioned opposite each other in the nave to await the faithful who enter to venerate them.

A description of the Subiaco procession and the role of its images was recorded by Giovanni Marangoni in the mid eighteenth century.³⁸⁶ The account of the greeting between icons is very similar to how the rite is practiced in Subiaco today:

Firstly, it should be known how in the church of S. Andrea there is an altar dedicated to the Savior with an old panel with the image of the Savior (which ordinarily covered, is kept with another similarly painted on canvas and portable), and an apostolic visit records it: *In decenti loculamento est SS. Salvatoris Imago in tabula antiquissimo opera picta, & pulcherrima exornata corona, quae maxima veneratione colitur; & quotannis processionaliter gestari solet per oppidi vias, usque ad Ecclesiam S. Mariae de Valle, festo Assumptionis Beatissimae Virginis.*³⁸⁷

Further, in the church of Santa Maria della Valle there is kept, with equal veneration, an image of the Virgin in the act of ascending to the sky, seated above a throne of clouds with some attendant angels, painted on a canvas on a panel of old wood, around nine palmi high and five wide, much venerated and pious, decorated with various jewels and a double strand of pearls up to the neck with a jewel pendent made with various stones.

For the maintenance of both these images there is delegated an ancient confraternity of the Madonna, which was joined to the archconfraternity of the Confalone of Rome. And among the most important obligations of its members is the veneration of these two sacred images, and for this, in its statutes renewed in the year 1540³⁸⁸ (since the oldest were lost in the fire of 1525), in two separate chapters it is specified that they must carry the aforementioned images in procession according to ancient custom. And the chapel in the church of Sant' Andrea [the cathedral], where the Savior is kept, is provided with everything needful by the same company, and here they keep a member to act as custodian, with the key to open it for the devotion of the faithful on certain times determined during the year and on other occasions.

On the eve of the Assumption, before the solemn mass, the archpriest in his church [the cathedral], with the assistance of the clergy, the people, and the officials of the

³⁸⁶ Marangoni, *Cappella di San Lorenzo*, 145-48.

³⁸⁷ Here Marangoni is referring to an apostolic visit of 1695 or 1696. The text of the visit, never published, is housed in the Archivio della Curia at the Biblioteca Santa Scholastica in Subiaco. Because of an on-going re-systematization of the collection, I was unable to examine the manuscript during my visit to the Biblioteca Santa Scholastica in April, 2011.

³⁸⁸ The statutes of 1540 are also housed today in the Archivio della Curia at the Biblioteca Santa Scholastica, and therefore, like the seventeenth-century apostolic visit, are inaccessible at this time.

confraternity dress the Lord for the celebration. Invoking first the Holy Spirit and reciting some sacred prayers, they hang from his neck a medallion with the image of the Virgin, and with a benediction they put in his hand the silver cross and then consign to the four elected constables the crozier, and they with the direction of the priors and camerlengo assist in the functions of the feast, so that it is as pious and majestic as possible. The mass having ended, the archpriest dons his liturgical vestment, anoints with incense the sacred image of the Blessed Virgin, and with singing of the *Ave Maris Stella*, she is taken down from her seat by the officials and confratelli of the confraternity and carried to a prepared litter, where again she is anointed with incense and is dressed in a turquoise mantle and is adorned with other apparatuses of grand appearance and here she remains for public veneration. The next day around ten o'clock in the evening, the majority of the company goes to take the Savior in the church of S. Andrea [the cathedral], from where processionally by the Clergy and confratelli it is conducted to the Piazza della Valle: and at the same time the archpriest with the clergy and with the remainder of the company in similar manner leave from the church of S. Maria toward the same Piazza and the most worthy ecclesiastics come wearing liturgical vestments and are preceded by all the clerics and other companies of the land with the magistrate [...] and the Lord of the Feast with the Guard of the Broken Lance of the eminent abbot, the magistrate with the Lord of the Feast, who all on one side of the great Piazza kneel on carpets and cushions. And in the meantime the two sacred images arrive (brought by the confraternity as in triumph, and accompanied by many lighted torches and attended on the sides by four prioresses elected every year to offer various gifts to the image) so that they are facing opposite each other. And after the singing ends and the archpriest gives the sign, they are brought closer, and they bow in a sign of salutation. And this is done three times exactly as they draw nearer. And in the meantime the many people, with great devotion, raise their voices crying "Misericordia," and other expressions of contrite heart, each one seeking to touch his crown to the sacred image.

Then the procession is recommenced with all the company described above, and both the sacred images are carried to the church of Santa Maria and placed inside it. Vespers is sung, and here they remain until the next day, when in procession, in the same order, both are transferred into the church of S. Andrea and here they stay until the next morning. And after mass is sung, again in the same processional order, they are taken to the piazza next to S. Andrea, and here they are placed one in front of the other. After the hymn and the sign from the archpriest, the triple reverential salutation is made again as in the piazza della Valle, and the people again all imploring mercy. Then the image of the Savior is displayed in S. Andrea, and here it remains uncovered until the twenty fifth of the month, the feast of the apostle Bartholomew, with a litany sung every evening. The holy Virgin is carried processionally by all the clergy and magistrates and others as on the preceding day, to the church of Santa Maria and here she remains displayed until the same feast of St Bartholomew, and every evening here are sung the litanies with some discourses in honor of the Blessed Virgin. And both of the sacred images the same evening, after some pious prayers, are replaced each one in its own niche...

The modern Savior image used in Subiaco's *Inchinata* procession today, and possibly already in Marangoni's time, was not the panel referred to in the 1540 confraternity statutes, nor the *antiquissima* image mentioned in the apostolic visit. It appears that the original panel, having become too ruined and fragile to be carried in the annual procession, was substituted by the new panel, which kept the same iconography: Christ enthroned making a gesture of blessing. It seems the original, however, after being "retired," was kept on display in the cathedral. After Marangoni's account of the Assumption procession he goes on to describe *two* other images of Christ kept in an oratory of the cathedral: "one older than the other, around five palmi high and three wide," while the other was "seven palmi high and around four wide," and they were "both painted on canvas over panel in the act of blessing, and they express a majesty very venerable, although rather faded and consumed due to their antiquity" ("assai scolorite e consumate per l'antichità loro").³⁸⁹ One of these images—probably the older one—must have been the panel originally carried in Subiaco's Assumption procession and the one mentioned in the 1540 statutes and the seventeenth-century apostolic visit. This lost Christ panel no doubt belonged to the family of medieval Laziale icons inspired by the Lateran *Acheropita*, especially considering that the modern version has clearly retained the iconographical and compositional character of the original.

The panel painting of the Virgin *Assunta* used in Subiaco's procession today could be the same one used in Marangoni's time. We know, however, that there was once an earlier image used in this ritual because Marangoni records that "In the sacristy of the church of Sta. Maria, inside a niche, there is another important ancient image of the Blessed Virgin Enthroned with Child in arms; and this, in times more remote was carried in the previously described

³⁸⁹ Marangoni, *Cappella di San Lorenzo*, 147.

procession.”³⁹⁰ The Marian image Marangoni refers to here could be the twelfth-century wooden sculpture of the Virgin Enthroned with Child which is still today displayed in a small chapel on the left side of the church. Thus it appears that over the centuries, different Marian images were used in different moments in the ritual greeting between Mother and Son at the climax of Subiaco’s Assumption procession.³⁹¹

While we do not know how far back the Subiaco procession in the form described by Marangoni dates, a comparison with Tivoli’s *Inchinata* both as practiced today and in Zappi’s sixteenth-century account reveals some interesting similarities and differences. The role of confraternities in caring for and carrying the images in the procession is similar. Also, it is clear that the Christological imagery is consistent; both cities venerated and ceremonially carried a monumental panel painting of the Enthroned Christ making a gesture of blessing (replicas of the Lateran *Acheropita*). The Marian imagery, however, is different: in Subiaco we are dealing not with a *Madonna Avvocata*, but an Assumption, and before that, perhaps, a wooden sculpture of the Madonna and Child. Also, some of the events that occurred on the vigil of the Assumption were different in Subiaco. As in Tivoli, the images of Christ and the Virgin were ceremonially adorned, anointed, and transferred from their altars to processional litters to be venerated in their respective churches. The procession, however, did not take place until the next day, Assumption Day.³⁹²

The culminating moment of the procession is nearly identical in both cities: the two images are brought face to face on their respective litters in the piazza in front of the city’s

³⁹⁰ Marangoni, *Cappella di San Lorenzo*, 147.

³⁹¹ I will address the variation in Marian iconography in the Laziale Assumption processions later in this chapter.

³⁹² It is possible that sometime before Marangoni’s day the procession was shifted from the vigil to Assumption Day; Subiaco is the only case I know of where the procession was staged on the 15th instead of the 14th (in any case, today it is performed on the 14th).

principle Marian church to make a triple bow of greeting as the people shout “Misericordia!” However, the manner in which the processions are and were conducted differs. In Tivoli the *Madonna delle Grazie* image awaits the Savior triptych in the doorway of the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore until the latter arrives in the piazza. In Subiaco today there are two concurrent processions: one accompanying the Savior image and one accompanying the Madonna image. At the end of their respective journeys the two images meet in the piazza of Sta. Maria della Valle for the ritual bow. It seems from Marangoni’s description that the same thing occurred in his day (“At the same time [that the Savior image is carried out of the cathedral] the archpriest with the clergy and with the remainder of the company in similar manner leave from the church of S. Maria toward the same piazza”). Another difference between the two cities is that in Subiaco today the main procession with the Savior image does not make a circumambulation of the historic center as is done in Tivoli, and there are no ritual washings. Rather, the procession winds up the hill from the cathedral directly to the piazza of Sta. Maria della Valle. Whether this was always the itinerary or whether it changed over time is unknown. There are several arguments that could be made, however, that the Subiaco procession was altered at some point. For one thing, a foot washing ritual with the Savior icon was likely involved originally, since that seems to be common to all or most of the *Acheropita* replicas in Lazio, given the frequency of the damaged, sawn off, or obviously re-painted bottoms of the panels.³⁹³ Also, the odd little foray of the Madonna *Assunta* image halfway up the hill and back down again to await the Savior image in the piazza seems very strange, almost pointless. I suspect the Virgin’s “journey” is a truncated version of a longer procession or more elaborate ceremony made in the past. Where the image is

³⁹³ It is possible that when the original medieval Savior panel was “retired” from the procession due to its fragility, the foot washing ritual was done away with to prevent the same damage to the new image.

turned around to go back down the hill is the spot where the church of the Madonna della Croce stands. This may at one time have served as the site of some kind of ritual with the image.

A final difference between the *Inchinata* in Tivoli (both today and in the historical accounts) and the *Inchinata* in Subiaco as described by Marangoni is the sequence of events that occurs during the days following the procession. In Subiaco on the morning after the procession both images—the Savior and the Virgin—are brought back to the cathedral to be displayed for the veneration of the people. The subsequent day the images are brought out again into the piazza to repeat the triple ritual bow and the Marian image is escorted back to her church. In Tivoli, both today and in the past, the two images remain together in Sta. Maria Maggiore for the night of the vigil (August 14). As in Subiaco, the morning after the procession the ritual bow is repeated in the piazza of the Marian church, but then Tivoli's Savior triptych is brought back to the cathedral alone. The *Madonna delle Grazie* icon stays behind in her church.

While there are many gaps in the narrative record of the Assumption processions of Subiaco and Tivoli, especially that of Subiaco, it seems safe to conclude that the celebrations had the same inspiration and a common ritual model (or one city adopted the ritual practices of the other), yet the performances evolved differently over time, resulting in distinctive local traditions.

6.3.4 Anagni

An indulgence of Boniface VIII dated November 4, 1300 concedes one year and 40 days to the faithful who visit the collegiate church of Sant'Andrea during the Assumption festivities and on the feast day of St Andrew. The text mentions that at the feast of the Assumption an image of Christ is carried from Sant' Andrea to the cathedral and back again (...*in remissionem*

*vestrorum peccaminum injungentes, quatinus ad ecclesiam Sancti Andree Anagninam, in qua in festo Assumptionis Beate Virginis ymago Salvatoris Domini nostri Jhesu Christi recondita ibidem assumitur, et inde ad majorem ecclesiam Anagninam proccessionaliter asporatur, et deinde reportatur ad predictam ecclesiam Sancti Andree...).*³⁹⁴

The Anagni city statutes of 1517 provide confirmation of this practice with the chapter *Quomodo reverenter debeat portari Salvatoris imago*, which states that on the eve of the Assumption an image of the Savior is carried to the cathedral accompanied by the city officials and confraternities (*nocte Assumptionis eiusdem virginis gloriosa, quando Salvatoris Imago solet ad Ecclesiam Anagninam portari debeat per Comestabilem militum, etc.*).³⁹⁵ These statutes are known to have been copied from an earlier version.³⁹⁶ We know more about the Anagni Savior icon and the procession from Marangoni's account. Marangoni tells us that,

In the collegiate church of Sant'Andrea of the city of Anagni with much devotion is venerated an old image of the Savior, painted on panel in the Greek manner, seated on a majestic throne, in the act of blessing with his right hand, and with his left holds an open book that rests on his left knee with these words: *Ego sum via & veritas: qui sequitur me abet vitam*. From these Gothic characters we know it is a copy of the other similar Greek image [the Lateran *Acheropita*?]. To the panel were added two doors that enclose the

³⁹⁴ BAV, *Incipit registorum litterarum quarti anni domini Bonifatii Pape VIII*, Reg. 49 f. 336 (see Georges Digard, ed., *Les registres de Boniface VIII: recueil des bulles de ce pape publiées ou analysées d'après les manuscrits originaux des Archives du Vatican II* [Paris: E. De Boccard, 1939], 799).

³⁹⁵ Archivio Stato di Roma, *Statuto di Anagni*, Stat. 640, f. 316r – 317v: “Item statuimus quod ad honorem, et laudem omnipotentis Dei, et gloriosa Virginis Maria matris eius nocte Assumptionis eiusdem virginis gloriosa, quando Salvatoris Imago solet ad Ecclesiam Anagninam portari debeat per Comestabilem militum, et super Comestabiles peditum cum societate, quam ipsi officiales duxerint eligendam, nec aliquis non electus ab eisdem ad ea non vocatus ad ipsam portationem venerandam audeat se immiscere...”

³⁹⁶ The introduction of the 1517 statutes, which survive in two copies (one in the Archivio Comunale di Anagni and one in the Archivio di Stato di Roma), explain that the statutes were copied from an earlier edition in very poor condition (“ex quodam vetustate compsunto archetipo ac pene temporis longitudinis oblietato”). See Rafaele Ambrosi De Magistris, *Lo Statuto di Anagni* (Rome: Soc. Romana di Storia Patria, 1880), 14-15. It is not stated what year the “archetipo” dates from, but it could have been two centuries earlier: the Archivio di Stato di Roma contains a fragment of an early fourteenth century edition of the statutes. The text of this fragment is almost identical to book III of the 1517 edition. This suggests that there was a significant degree of consistency in the text between the early fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries, meaning the “Quomodo reverenter debeat portari Salvatoris imago” chapter could also have existed in the original version.

figure of the Savior. On their exterior are depicted the images of St Magnus, bishop of Trani and martyr, protector of the city, and of St Secondin, citizen of Anagni, the bodies of which lay in the lower basilica of the cathedral. The interior of the wings depict the Virgin on the right hand of Christ, and on his left side a bearded saint [St Andrea] holding his right hand above the head of a kneeling ecclesiastic in a clerical habit, in act of offering this cleric to the Savior...

Marangoni continues,

This pious panel with its tabernacle, from time immemorial, every year on the eve of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, with majestic pomp is carried in procession from the church of S. Andrea to the Cathedral dedicated to the blessed Virgin, with the participation of all the confraternities, the secular and regular clergy, with the two chapters, and followed by the governor and magistrates in costume of black damask, with all the officials of the curia and all the people of the city. And reaching the cathedral, in the midst of the throng, the well-decorated litter is displayed with much candle light to public devotion, remaining there for the space of nine days. Then with the same pomp it is brought back to its original seat on the feast of the apostle St Bartholomew and again placed on its own altar.

Marangoni's account reveals that as in Tivoli and Subiaco the Savior image in Anagni's Assumption procession was without question that city's thirteenth-century replica of the Lateran *Acheropita*, which was kept in the church of Sant'Andrea until it was moved recently to the Musei della Cattedrale (the image displayed in Sant'Andrea now is a copy). Similarly consistent is the featured participation of the city's confraternities and civic authorities. What is conspicuously missing, on the other hand, is a mention of a Marian image. Whether such an image played no role in Anagni's Assumption festivities, or whether this detail was simply omitted by Marangoni is unknown. This variation raises questions about whether a ritual encounter between images was a central feature of all the Laziale Assumption processions or just in some cities, and to what extent the processions evolved independently according to local tradition or preferences. It is instructive to consider that the Savior image in some cases visited an image of the Virgin *inside* the church, perhaps greeting her at her altar. The role of Marian

images and possible explanations for variations in the documentary record of the Lazio Assumption processions is a topic I will return to later in this chapter.

6.3.5 Perugia

Perugia is the one city outside of Lazio known to possess a Savior image that arguably belongs to the family of panel paintings treated in this chapter and that was ritually carried in the Middle Ages in processions on the eve of the Assumption.³⁹⁷ The panel is displayed today in Perugia's Museo Capitolare della Cattedrale, but previously was kept in the adjacent cathedral of San Lorenzo. The panel is considered a variation of the typical Laziale type in that, as explained earlier, the figure of Christ is standing instead of seated on a throne, and he holds a cross-staff in his left hand rather than a book. However, such variations are also seen within Lazio, such as in Palombara and Tarquinia, and do not constitute *a priori* exclusion from the group. Both the icon and the Assumption procession in Perugia are extraordinarily well documented, with records going back to the early thirteenth century. This is especially valuable evidence for the antiquity of this Assumption tradition and can further elucidate practices in Lazio, where the tradition originated.

In 1235 Pope Gregory IX granted an indulgence to the faithful who participated in the procession on the eve of the Assumption to the Franciscan convent of Santa Maria in Monteluca.³⁹⁸ This indulgence was reconfirmed in 1243 by Innocent IV³⁹⁹ and in 1256 by Alexander IV.⁴⁰⁰ A municipal document dated August 6, 1297 speaks of the need to restore the

³⁹⁷ The procession is still performed today, but with a copy of the medieval Savior image.

³⁹⁸ *Bullarium franciscanum* I:177. See also appendix N.

³⁹⁹ *Bullarium franciscanum* I:317.

⁴⁰⁰ *Bullarium franciscanum* II:120.

image of the Savior carried in procession at the feast of the Assumption and specifies that the best possible colors be used for the intervention (*quod figura Salvatoris quod fieri debet et renovari pro comuni quod portatur ad festum Sancte Marie de mense augusti fiat...et fiat de melioribus coloribus qui inveniri poterant*).⁴⁰¹ Because the panel was in need of repair by 1297, we can presume that by then it had a processional function and was probably already carried in the procession referred to in the early and mid thirteenth-century bulls of Gregory IX, Innocent IV, and Alexander IV.

In 1325 Bishop Fra Francesco Poggi da Lucca refused to allow the Savior panel to go in procession at that year's Assumption. The city priors sent their families to beat on the doors of the cathedral and the chapel of S. Ercolano in which the panel was kept. The citizens were successful in removing the image, and the procession was conducted as usual. When the octave was finished (on Aug 23) a municipal council was held in which it was decided that all those involved in the forceful removal of the image from the cathedral were absolved of any culpability for their disorderly conduct.⁴⁰²

Another municipal document, of 1375, records expenses for the transport of the Savior icon on the night of August 14, adorned with a mantle and carried with four great poles, from the cathedral of S. Lorenzo to the convent of Monteluca.⁴⁰³ Not long after, the commune sanctioned

⁴⁰¹ Archivio di Stato di Perugia (ASP), Archivio Storico del Comune di Perugia, *Consigli e riformanze* 10, f. 293v. I am grateful to Cecilia Matteuci who shared with me her unpublished tesi di laurea on the Perugia Savior panel, which includes original transcriptions of the documents in the Archivio di Stato di Perugia pertaining to the Savior image, including the one cited here (Matteuci, "Lo stendardo processionale 'dell' Assunta' nella cattedrale di Perugia" [tesi di laurea, Università degli Studi di Perugia, 2005-2006] 27).

⁴⁰² ASP, Archivio Storico del Comune di Perugia, *Consigli e riformanze*, "Die vigesimatertia mensis Augusti" (cited by Ettore Ricci in "Monteluca," *Perusi: Rassegna mensile dell'attività culturale ed amministrativa del comune di Perugia* 2 [1930]: 160, n. 1).

⁴⁰³ This document from the city archives, which is now lost, was recorded by G.B. Vermiglioli in the nineteenth century. See Biblioteca Augusta del Comune di Perugia, G.B. Vermiglioli (1769-1848), *Memorie della Compagnia della SS. Annunziata*, ms. 1536, f. 2. Vermiglioli wrote, "Nel 1375 sono segnalate spese per il trasporto del Salvatore

the right of the *Compagnia della SS. Annunziata* to carry the image in the procession. The confraternity had complained to the city officials against the trade guilds, invoking the privilege given to them by the city statutes to carry the Savior image in the procession. The confraternity successfully petitioned that the guilds be forbidden from requiring their members to participate in the procession under the insignia of the guild they belonged to (*quod nullus camerarius cuiusque artis possit nec debeat compellere in dicta vigilia aliquem artificem qui sit de dicta fraternitate ad eundum cum luminaribus cum eius arte*).⁴⁰⁴ This means that the privilege of a particular group to officially accompany the image remained with the religious confraternity, at least for the time-being. However, it was clear that the practice of following the Savior panel in the Assumption procession, carrying ritual candles, was an important function of the city's trade guilds, as is seen in the statutes of the shoemakers: *Item, dicimus et ordinamus, quod homines dicte artis teneantur facere et faciant luminariam in festo sancte Marie de augusto post Salvatorem*.⁴⁰⁵

In 1451 the commune ordered another renovation of the Savior icon, which is again specified as being carried from the cathedral to Sta. Maria in Monteluca on the eve of the Assumption (*tabula Salvatoris que defertur per disciplinatos fraternitatis beate Marie seu Annuntiate vulgariter nuncupate ab ecclesia Sancti Laurentii usque ad ecclesiam Sancte Marie de Monte Lucido in festivitate Assumptionis ipsius beate Virginis de mense augusti*), and was

il 14 agosto, quando, coperto da un pallio e portato con quattro grandi aste, il Salvatore nella vigilia dell'Assunzione veniva trasportato da S. Lorenzo al convento di Monteluca."

⁴⁰⁴ ASP, Archivio Storico del Comune di Perugia, *Consigli e riformanze*, 32, f. 179r. The text quoted here is cited in Pier Lorenzo Meloni, "Per la storia delle confraternite disciplinate in Umbria nel secolo XIV," in *Storia e arte in Umbria nell'eta' comunale. Atti del VI Convegno di Studi Umbri. Gubbio, 26-30 maggio 1966, Perugia, Facolta' di Lettere e Filosofia* (Gubbio: Centro di studi umbri, 1971), 575.

⁴⁰⁵ R. Staccini, ed., *L'arte dei ciabattini di Perugia, Archivi dell'Umbria. Inventari e ricerche, regione dell'Umbria* (Perugia: Regione dell'Umbria: Editrice Umbra Cooperativa, 1987), 27.

again in a grave state of ruin (*multum vetusta et quasi non discernatur figure in ipsa depicte*).

This time the renovation was to include both a repainting of the figure of Christ and the addition of the Virgin's Assumption on the panel's reverse (*ex uno latere depingatur ymago Salvatoris et ex altero Assumptio beate Virginis cum figura Salvatoris in trono et angelis more solito, et ipsa tabula sit deaurata seu de auro et pulcris coloribus ornata*).⁴⁰⁶ The intervention was carried out in 1453 by Battista di Baldassarre, who, as requested, carved on the reverse in wooden relief a scene of the Assumption/*synthronos*.⁴⁰⁷

The documents show that the processional ritual on the vigil of the Assumption in medieval and early modern Perugia was performed along the same general lines as those documented in Tivoli, Viterbo, Tarquinia, Subiaco, and Anagni. A monumental early thirteenth-century panel depicting Christ in Majesty making a gesture of blessing was accompanied by the city magistrates, confraternities, and trade guilds from the cathedral to the city's principle Marian church. The possible reasons for the adoption of this ceremonial tradition in Umbria will be examined later in the chapter. The exceptional element of the Perugia procession relative to the documented Assumption processions discussed so far in this section is the Assumption/*synthronos* scene on the reverse of the Savior panel. However, as we know from the variety of surviving physical evidence in Lazio, this is not a unique case. Panels with Christ Enthroned/Christ Blessing on one side and Assumption or *Avvocata* imagery on the other are also found in Bracciano, Vetralla, and Tarquinia.

⁴⁰⁶ ASP, Archivio Storico del Comune di Perugia, *Consigli e riformanze* 10, f. 193v. Transcribed in Matteucci, "Lo stendardo processionale 'dell' Assunta'," 28-29.

⁴⁰⁷ ASP, Archivio Storico del Comune di Perugia, *Consigli e riformanze* 89, f. 76v. Transcribed in Matteucci, "Lo stendardo processionale 'dell' Assunta'," 30-31.

.An extensive examination of the medieval and early modern municipal statutes, confraternity records, apostolic visits, and chronicles surviving in local libraries and archives around Lazio would no doubt reveal further useful clues about the manner in which Assumption processions were performed historically in these communities, including their ritual use of images. For the scope of this study, however, these examples suffice to confirm the antiquity and diffusion of the Laziale Assumption processions and to help tease out patterns of practice and performance. These patterns and their implications will be discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

6.4 REGIONAL DISTINCTIVENESS IN RITUAL PRACTICE

From the above survey of Lazio Assumption processions it is clear that there are certain consistencies in the way they were performed. The principle common denominator was the use of a monumental Savior image of a specific iconographic and stylistic type. It was this image that in every instance was ritually carried in the procession on the eve (or in the case of Subiaco on the day) of the Assumption and functioned as its focal point. The reason this is noteworthy is that the Assumption is a Marian feast, and moreover the most *important* Marian feast in the late Middle Ages. While a ritual encounter of the Savior icon with an image of Mary is documented for some of the Laziale Assumption processions, the absence of such a detail in the textual record is more common; and even in cases where an encounter with a Marian image *is* mentioned, it seems clear that the Savior icon was the protagonist of the event.

This centrality of the Savior effigy in Laziale Assumption processions contrasts with the manner in which Assumption processions were practiced in other parts of central Italy in the late

Middle Ages and early modern period. In the processions of Tuscany and Umbria (except in Perugia) it is Mary who is the unequivocal protagonist: it was her relics that were venerated and her image that was carried in procession, or—resting on an altar—was the object of ritual offerings at the culmination of a procession. The following examples will illustrate the prevalence of these practices.

In Spoleto, in Umbria, an indulgence of Bishop Gerardo dated August 15, 1291 speaks of a procession to the altar of the cathedral with a panel of great beauty containing the image of the Virgin, painted with fine workmanship by St Luke the Evangelist in response to the prayers of St Timothy (...*quaedam tabula mirae pulchritudinis per clericos Ecclesiae cum magna reverentia, praecedentibus luminaribus, ad altare processionaliter est delata, quae Dei Genitricis imaginem B. Lucae Evangelistae manibus ad preces B. Timothei summo depictam studio continet*).⁴⁰⁸

An entry of 1508 in the diary of Tommaso di Silvestro describes the procession of that year in Orvieto, also in Umbria. According to Tommaso's description, on the evening of August 13 an effigy of the Virgin (*Nostra Donna*) was brought from its home in the cathedral of Santa Maria to the collegiate church of Sant'Andrea. The next day, the eve of the Assumption, a civic ceremony was performed in the piazza of the church during which the subject lands offered tribute to Orvieto. Later that day, the religious ritual was conducted in which the effigy of the Virgin was carried in procession from S. Andrea back to the cathedral "according to custom."⁴⁰⁹ Tommaso records the Assumption procession a number of times in his chronicle, often

⁴⁰⁸ Bonfioli and Ermini, "Premesse ad un riesame critico dell 'Icône' del Duomo di Spoleto," 832.

⁴⁰⁹ Luigi Fumi, ed., *Diario di ser Tommaso di Silvestro canonico e notaro, 1482-1514*. Appendix H to *Ephemerides Urbevetanae dal codice Vaticano Urbinate 1745* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1922), 372. (The original manuscript is in Orvieto, Archivio di Stato, Varieta' 5). "Et facto lo vesparo Sua Signoria venne alla processione lagiu' ad Sancto Adrea et stette ad vedere et fare tucte quelle ceremonie, quale se fanno omne anno, che se chiamano tucti li tributarii gia' d'Orvieto, et da puoi retorno' su processionaliter, facendo compagnia alla Nostra Donna, come e' usanza omne anno che se porta la sera nante della vigilia de Sancta Maria ad Sancto Andrea et lo di' della vigilia, de po' decto lo vesparo, se va per la Madonna; et celebrate quelle cerimonia, se ripiglia la Madonna et reportasi ad Sancta Maria."

mentioning the effigy that was ritually carried; however, he never specifies what form the effigy took: painting or sculpture. Today it is a wooden sculpture of the Virgin *Assunta* that is carried in the annual procession. One of Tommaso's entries suggests that already in his day the effigy was a sculpture: one year in the month of July a man infuriated by the loss of five ducats in a game of chance gouged a hole in the eye of *Nostra Donna* (he was executed for blasphemy).⁴¹⁰ The continuity of the role of the wooden statue in Orvieto's Assumption festivities is hinted at in a 1919 history of the city's monuments that recounts the seventeenth-century re-systematization of the cathedral's artworks:

...from the Cappella Nuova the statue of the Assunta was removed, where in a quite old wooden cabinet or tabernacle it was venerated on the original altar about whose form we are ignorant, but which certainly did not abut the wall; and this effigy of gilded and painted wood, which must have undergone some restorations, was put on a new altar, made in the western wall of the Biblioteca di Antonio Albèri, which with the name of Cappalletta kept its altar at least until 1833. Now that altar has disappeared and the beautiful statue of the Assunta does not appear outside of the tabernacle except for the festivities of mid August [feast of the Assumption].⁴¹¹

It has been suggested several times that prior to the wooden sculpture the Marian image carried in Orvieto's Assumption procession was the icon of the Virgin and Child still kept today in the Duomo: the *Madonna di San Brizio* or *Maestà della Tavola*.⁴¹² The great antiquity and veneration of this image in the city makes it a likely candidate for a ritual centerpiece for Orvieto's feast of the Assumption. I am aware of no written records connecting the image to

⁴¹⁰ *Diario di ser Tommaso di Silvestro*, 53: "Item memento che lo decto dì, cio e' sabbato ad mactina di XVI de luglo, fu moza la testa ad uno battelana, un bello homo grande e grosso, quale biastimando havendo perduti ad juoco cinque ducati, per ira decte con uno coltello alla figura della Nostra Donna et cavogle l'occhie. Et per questo gle fu mozo al chapo."

⁴¹¹ Pericle Perali, *Orvieto. Note storiche di topografia; note storiche d'arte, dalle origini al 1800* (Rome: Multigrafica, 1919), 256.

⁴¹² "La devozione e il significato della festo di Cristo Re nel medioevo," *Osservatore Romano*, October 26, 1941, 4; and Volbach, "Il Cristo di Sutri," 120, n. 60. For more on the icon, see Giovanna Martellotti and Paola Réfice, "L'enigma della 'Maestà della Tavola'," in *La Cappella nova di San Brizio nel duomo di Orvieto*, ed. Giusi Testa (Milan: Rizzoli, 1996), 277-287.

processional use; nevertheless, it is possible that the icon was the object of the ritual offerings made at the Duomo at the feast of the Assumption that are recorded in multiple documents of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.⁴¹³

In Siena, a procession to the cathedral on the vigil of the Assumption in which offerings of candles were made to the Virgin, the patroness of the city, is recorded in the city statutes since 1200.⁴¹⁴ The statutes require that all the citizens of Siena go to the cathedral to make an offering of a candle, and that the candles proffered by the citizens and subject towns on this occasion remain on the altar for one year (*Et predictae cerei folliati debeant poni et aptari in altari in dicta ecclesia ita quod per annum debeant custodiri...*). The icon of the Madonna and Child (the *Madonna dagli occhi grossi* or “Madonna of the Big Eyes”) whose intercession was implored by the Sienese in 1260 prior to the Battle of Montaperti, and which was carried in the triumphal procession afterward, and in other thirteenth-century civic processions, was probably also carried in the Assumption procession to the cathedral.⁴¹⁵ As for the imagery on the cathedral altar where the offerings to the Virgin were made, since 1311 it was Duccio’s famous *Maestà* altarpiece that served as the backdrop. Earlier, in the thirteenth century, the focus of these ritual offerings at the altar may have been one of the two earlier Marian images kept at the cathedral: the Madonna of the Big Eyes (the same image that was carried in the procession) or another image of the Virgin

⁴¹³ Ceremonial candles and *palii*, or processional standards, were offered at the Duomo at the feast of the Assumption. Prisoners were also freed from jail as offerings to the Virgin at her August feast day. Archivio di Stato di Orvieto, *Riformagioni* 70, f. 22v; *Riformagioni* 79, f. 128v; *Riformagioni*, 72, I. II, f. 22r.

⁴¹⁴ A document in the city archives dated September 1200 reproduces a chapter of an older lost version of the statutes with the regulations for the ceremony. Archivio di Stato di Siena, fondo Diplomatico, Opera Metropolitana, settembre 1200. The document was published in its entirety by Giovanni Cecchini in his article “Palio e Contrade,” in *Palio*, eds. Alessandro Falassi and Giuliano Catoni (Milan: Electa, 1982), 347.

⁴¹⁵ See Kempers, “Icons, Altarpieces, and Civic Ritual,” 107.

and Child, the *Madonna delle Grazie*, which was made to commemorate Siena's victory at Montaperti in 1260.⁴¹⁶

Seventeenth-century chronicler Paolo Tronci described a grand procession around the city of Pisa on the evening of August 14 in the year 1291.⁴¹⁷ According to Tronci's account, the next day, the Assumption, another procession was made to the cathedral where, in an elaborate ritual, an offering of two great candles was made to the altar of "the Mother of God." The spectacle featured exquisitely-costumed youths, the elders of the city, the mayor, the captain of the militia, the magistrates, the city officials, soldiers on foot and on horseback, the trade guilds carrying large colorful candles, and musicians of every kind. After the offering was made, a silver banner was carted out of the cathedral. This banner, according to Tronci, was a symbol of the Virgin's girdle which she presented to St Thomas as she was assumed into heaven. The banner was wrapped around the entire exterior of the cathedral (*appiccandola a certi arpioncini infissi appositamente, si tirava attorno alla muraglia esteriore del duomo fino a circondarala tutta*), thus imbuing the monument with a kind of anthropomorphic symbolism: the body of the cathedral became the body of the Virgin herself, honored on her most important feast day by the dramatic ritual display of her sacred garment. The cult of the Virgin's girdle, or *sacra cintola*, was in fact very old and enormously popular in Pisa, which claimed to house the authentic Marian relic itself. The practice of encircling the cathedral or the cathedral's altar with a symbolic "girdle" on special occasions seems to have a long history. An inventory of the cathedral dated December 15, 1369 records that two porters were paid eight *soldi* to bring a great

⁴¹⁶ For the history and ritual use of these two images, see Kempers, "Icons, Altarpieces, and Civic Ritual," 89-136.

⁴¹⁷ *Annali pisani di Paolo Tronci* (Lucca: Giuseppe Giusti, 1828), 556-559. While Tronci places the events in 1292, it is unclear what source he was using. His description of the Assumption festivities may reflect some later practices.

silver girdle from the seat of the commune to the cathedral on the vigil of the Assumption of the Virgin, and to return it afterward.⁴¹⁸

Finally, in Parma, the city statutes of 1266 provide for a banner, kept in the sacristy of the Duomo, to be offered at the altar of the Blessed Virgin on the vigil of her Assumption.⁴¹⁹

Thus, in all its various visual and performative manifestations, the cult of the Virgin was clearly the emphasis of Assumption celebrations most typical to central Italy. This puts in high relief the contrasting practices in Lazio. Here, at the feast of the Assumption there is a unique focus on the cult of the Lateran *Acheropita*. This cult seems to have been nurtured and disseminated by religious devotion and political ambitions of the papacy via a network of episcopal authorities in the region, as I discussed in chapter two. In some cases, the diffusion of the cult may have resulted from intimate episcopal contact with the Lateran and its sacred image, as may have been the case in Tivoli. In 1029 Bishop Bosone of Tivoli, who served as librarian at the Lateran, left part of his house in Rome to the Lateran Savior image painted by St Luke.⁴²⁰ The charter reveals a connection already by the second quarter of the eleventh century between the cult of the *Acheropita* and the upper echelons of the Tiburtine church. This is significant since Tivoli's Savior Triptych was made not long after, in the late eleventh century or the first part of the twelfth.

⁴¹⁸ See Francesco Bonaini, *Memorie inedite intorno alla vita e ai dipinti di Francesco Traini* (Pisa: Nistri, 1846), 76, note: "...duobus portatoribus qui portaverunt cintulam magnam argenteam dicte majoris ecclesie de camera pisani comunis ad pisam majorem ecclesiam in vigilia Assumptionis Virginis Marie...et postea reportaverunt ad cameram pisani comunis suprascripta die."

⁴¹⁹ *Statuta Communis Parmae* II (1266). Published in *Monumenta historica ad provincias parmensem et placentinam pertinentia* I (Parma, 1859), 100.

⁴²⁰ The text of the charter is published in Giuseppe Maria Soresino, *De imagine SS.mi Salvatoris ad Sancta Sanctorum Romae* (Rome: Lazzarum Varesium, 1675), 53-56. See also appendix O.

This relationship between the papal cult of the Savior and the episcopacies of Lazio was probably also at work in the appearance of the “Lazio-style” Assumption procession in Perugia. As noted earlier, the first record of the Assumption procession in Perugia is the 1235 indulgence by Pope Gregory IX. This future pope, when he was still Cardinal Ugolino, founded Perugia’s convent of Sta. Maria in Monteluca in 1218.⁴²¹ It was probably he, furthermore, who instituted the procession that went to the church on the eve of the Assumption. It is very interesting therefore that at the time, Ugolino was the Perugian legate to the Apostolic See. It is very possible that through his influence as papal legate, or later through his endorsement as pope, Perugia’s Savior icon was commissioned and carried in procession every year to Sta. Maria in Monteluca to honor the holy house of the Franciscan nuns, which Ugolino himself had founded.

It is possible that “Lazio-style” Assumption processions were also practiced in other cities in medieval Umbria or elsewhere in central Italy, via direct ecclesiastical connections similar to that in Perugia. However, the absence of both documentary evidence and icons typologically related to the image family treated in this chapter suggests that the cult of the Lateran *Acheropita* and the processional practices associated with it were primarily limited to Lazio. This is probably because Rome’s religious and artistic practices held the strongest sway in the immediately-surrounding region. For the cities of Lazio, Rome was the primary cultural influence. This was, nevertheless, a complex relationship since the independent communes of late medieval Lazio—especially those such as Tivoli locked in ongoing political and military rivalries with Rome—sought to both emulate and compete with the *Urbs*. This is apparent in the way Tivoli, as examined in chapters three and four, adapted Rome’s Assumption procession to its local topography and imbued it with meaning from its own legendary history.

⁴²¹ Ricci, “Monteluca,” 140.

6.5 PAIRING UP THE ICONS: THE ROLE OF MARIAN IMAGERY IN THE LAZIO PROCESSIONS

Marian images are rarely recorded in the sources for the Laziale Assumption processions. I am aware of only the cases of Tivoli and Subiaco, and these records date from the sixteenth century. This means one of two things: that ritual encounters between images in Lazio's Assumption processions originated in the early modern period rather than the Middle Ages, or that there is simply a *lacuna* in the documentary record. There is various evidence that the latter is the case.

In the Roman Assumption procession, which is universally considered as the inspiration for the others processions in Lazio, there is significant evidence (discussed in chapter two) that one or more ritual encounters between the Lateran *Acheropita* and a Marian image were a part of the procession since at least the eleventh century. One encounter involved the Virgin *Hodegetria* at Sta. Maria Nuova (Sta. Francesca Romana) at the forum. The other encounter occurred with the *Salus Populi Romani* icon, depicting the Madonna and Child, at the culmination of the procession at the papal basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore. Both encounters may have occurred in the same procession, or the encounter at Sta. Maria Maggiore with the *Salus Populi Romani* may have replaced at some point the encounter at Sta. Maria Nuova. It has also been proposed in recent scholarship that the *Madonna Avvocata* panel from the *Monasterium Tempuli* convent may have been used in some manner in the Roman procession.⁴²²

⁴²² As discussed in chapter five, this supposition is based on the icon's explicit intercessory iconography, which we often see paired in Rome and Lazio with figures of Christ Enthroned in the context of Assumption festivities or in reference to Assumption theology (e.g. the apse mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore and Sta. Maria in Trastevere, the *deesis* configurations of several of the Laziale Savior triptychs, and the use of *Avvocata* panels in Assumption celebrations in Tivoli, Vetralla, Capena, and Orte).

Physical evidence suggests that ritual encounters of the Savior panels with Marian images occurred at the Assumption in other cities of Lazio. There is the case of the twelfth-century Vetralla *Avvocata* panel on whose reverse was painted a bust-length copy around the year 1400 of what was most likely a replacement for the city's lost image of Christ Enthroned. It seems that this intervention permanently joined together two images that must have had a history of being paired up in ritual performance. Additionally, in the Duomo in Viterbo there is the *Madonna della Carbonara* icon, a late twelfth-century copy of Sta. Maria Maggiore's *Salus Populi Romani*.⁴²³ Its presence in Viterbo (home to a papal palace) suggests that the city had replicated not only Rome's *Acheropita* image but also one of the Marian images with which it was paired at the culmination of the Assumption procession, very possibly in order to replicate the ritual itself.

The most likely explanation for the *lacunae* in the textual record of Marian images in the Laziale Assumption festivities is that in most cases it was not they but the Savior panels that were carried around the city. As is clear from my discussion earlier about the documentary sources, the earliest texts that refer to the processions are not chronicles, liturgical books, or theological commentaries, but legal statutes of municipalities and confraternities. These statutes regulated the carrying of images. They specified what was to occur and not to occur from the standpoint of social privilege and civic order during this delicate and politically-charged operation. Often the statutes regulate very mundane customs and behaviors. They were clearly not intended to be chronicles or narrative descriptions. For example, Tivoli's statutes of 1305

⁴²³ The Viterbo Madonna is sometimes said in the literature to have come from the little church of Santa Maria in Carbonara near the Duomo (see Garrison, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Italian Panel Painting* III: 210, n. 3; and Faldi and Mortari, *Pittura Viterbese*, 18-10). However no evidence for this as the original location is ever given, or when the image's transfer to the Duomo is supposed to have occurred. But even if the icon was not kept in the Duomo in the Middle Ages, that does not exclude the possibility that it was used in the Assumption procession.

specify that the city's standard curfew be suspended on the night of August 14, the vigil of the Assumption, among other occasions.⁴²⁴ They also spell out the penalties for fighting in public when the Savior icon was carried in procession.⁴²⁵ Tivoli's statutes from the end of the fourteenth century designate the order of the trade guilds in the Assumption procession.⁴²⁶ This official regulating of the order of confraternities and trade guilds in the Assumption procession is seen also in Rome's municipal statutes, as well as those of a number of cities around Lazio. The textual record, therefore, reveals the predominating concern of civic institutions to ensure a smooth and orderly public event, one which encountered rowdy and unbecoming behavior from time to time (such incidences are recorded in later chronicles, often in great detail).

I suspect that in most of the Lazio processions, a Marian image waited at a designated church either at the procession's destination or somewhere along the route to "receive" the Savior panel and play its role in a symbolic commemoration of the meeting between mother and son at the moment of the Assumption. The nature of this symbolic commemoration, however, and the type of image involved, may have taken different forms. We recall that in cases where there is documented or strong circumstantial evidence of a Marian image used in the Assumption procession the iconographic type of the image varies. In Tivoli and Vetralla the image is of the *Avvocata* type. It is also the *Avvocata* depicted in the fifteenth-century icons used in Assumption festivities conducted today in Orte and Capena. In Viterbo, on the other hand, the most likely candidate for an image ritually used at the Assumption is the icon of the Madonna and Child copied from Rome's *Salus Populi Romani*. Finally, in Subiaco the image used in that city's

⁴²⁴ ACT, Sezione Preunitarie, Statuto del 1305, n. 1 bis., f. 37v-38r. See appendix B

⁴²⁵ Statuto del 1305, f. 83v. See appendix A.

⁴²⁶ *Statuta et reformationes circa stilum civitatis Tyburtinae incipit liber primus*, book II, 24r. See appendix C

Inchinata ritual is a scene of the Virgin's Assumption, which at some point replaced a Madonna and Child image, possibly the wooden sculpture in the church's left side chapel.

This variation in iconographic type and the fact that there are still many cities in Lazio in which the relevant Marian image has not yet been identified at all in the broader literature calls for further inquiry. What is needed is a methodical investigation of the surviving Marian images in the cathedrals and churches around Lazio that were the destinations of Assumption processions.

The available evidence, nevertheless, suggests that the earliest and most canonical form of ritual encounter between images at the feast of the Assumption was one between the Savior image and some variation of the Virgin *Avvocata*. The earliest textual evidence for Rome is the hymn *Santa Maria quid est?* which according to the early eleventh-century Roman *ordo* was sung when the *Acheropita* image was placed on the steps of Sta. Maria Nuova (its speaks of the "sign" of the Lord on his throne, pausing with the Theotokos on hers as the people bring fragrant oils to anoint them).⁴²⁷ This is a likely reference to the seventh-century Virgin *Hodegetria* image inside the church, which combines the iconography of the *Madonna Avvocata* with the iconography of the Madonna and Child. This ritual model was repeated in Tivoli, Vetralla, Orte, and Capena where the Marian image used in the ritual greeting with the Savior panel during the Assumption procession is or was a *Madonna Avvocata* (although the most direct source for the iconography appears to have been the *Monasterium Tempuli* icon).

In contrast to this are the cases of Subiaco and Viterbo where evidence suggests that the images used in the ritual encounter with the Savior icon were images of the Madonna and Child—in other words, *not* intercessory images. As I stated in the previous chapter, this variation may be explained by the fact that in the selection of images for the ritual performances of the

⁴²⁷ Ms. Casin. 451

processions iconographic type was not always the primary criterion. Rather, the fame of an image's cult seems also to have played a role. Subiaco and Viterbo may not have had a cult image of the *Madonna Avvocata* sufficiently venerable to play the ritual role at the Assumption and consequently they used an image that was. This phenomenon probably also explains why a variety of Marian iconography and media—as opposed to a single formula—were used in the Assumption festivities in Umbria and Tuscany discussed earlier in this chapter.

In addition to the iconographic variations in these celebrations there were *performative* variations. What we can conclude from the known cases is that there seems to not have been a single model for ritual practice involving Marian imagery. Even in Rome there were variations in the same procession. At Sta. Maria Nuova the Marian icon was brought out to meet the *Acheropita* on the steps of the church for ritual washing and veneration. However at Sta. Maria Maggiore it does not seem that the *Salus Populi Romani* was actually brought out of the basilica; instead the two images were “enthroned” together inside (Tivoli's *Inchinata* seems to be a combination of these two Roman rituals). In Subiaco, there was not one but *two* concurrent processions in different parts of the city which met at the end for the ritual bow between the images. While we do not know how it was practiced historically, in today's Assumption procession in Orte it is the *Madonna Avvocata* image alone which makes the journey around the city to meet a Savior image at the procession's climax at the door of the cathedral.⁴²⁸

Given this spectrum of practices, it is even possible that in some places Mary was represented in the symbolic reenactment of the Assumption not by an image but by the titular church that was the procession's destination. The structure of the church itself became the body of the Virgin. This possibility could serve as the methodological basis for an interesting study on the *architectural* contexts of ritual performance at the feast of the Assumption. In the next

⁴²⁸ Solberg, “The Madonna Avvocata Icon at Orte.”

chapter I give preliminary treatment to several aspects of architectural setting on this; however, it is a subject that merits analytical exploration beyond the scope of the present study.

6.6 CONCLUSION

Given the physical and textual sources it is clear that we can indeed speak—not just theoretically but concretely—of a distinct ritual tradition that was typical to Lazio at the vigil of the Assumption in the late Middle Ages. This ritual invariably centered on monumental panel paintings with a specific iconographic depiction of Christ Enthroned inspired by the sixth-century *Acheropita* icon in Rome. The variations in the iconography and composition of the Savior panels, however, suggest local preferences or a variety of models and inspirations rather than just one. The central role of the Savior panels in the Laziale processions contrasts with the practice of carrying Marian images that is more typical of Assumption processions elsewhere in central Italy. This contrast points to the degree of importance and the broad diffusion of the cult of the *Acheropita* in Lazio, which seems to have had strong episcopal and papal connections.

The panels were brought out of the churches that housed them and were carried through the city in procession by confraternities or guilds devoted to their cults, a factor which reveals the processions' significant civic character. The frequency among the panels of eroded "feet" and the presence (or evidence) of coverings such as silver revetments and silk cloths offers additional proof of an ancient tradition of ritual cleansings and public veneration of these images.

The processions were destined for a specific church which, if not the Duomo, was usually the principle Marian foundation of the community. The panels' arrival at this monument symbolized the reunion of the Virgin with her son Jesus Christ in heaven at the end of her life on

Earth. In several cities—Rome, Tivoli, Subiaco, and probably also Viterbo and Vetralla—the encounter of mother and son in the medieval procession was invoked by a ritual meeting of icons. The practice of this ritual today in cities like Orte and Capena are further evidence of the diffusion of this practice in medieval Lazio. The types of Marian images used in the processions, however, was variable, as was the form their performative roles took. This indicates that the processions, initially inspired by the same model, evolved as individual traditions likely influenced by local topography and local image cults.

7.0 PERFORMING THE ASSUMPTION: LAZIALE LITURGICAL PROCESSIONS AND THE RISE OF URBAN RELIGIOUS THEATER IN CENTRAL ITALY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In several parts of this dissertation looked at the role of the mendicant friars and lay confraternities in the performance and meaning of the Laziale Assumption processions. In this chapter I will again return to these institutions with the objective of investigating the evolution of the processions relative to new civic and creative impulses that were spreading through central Italy between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. I will explore how this era of civic consciousness and personal spirituality introduced new visual media and individualized “props” into liturgical ritual. I will demonstrate how in Lazio, these new performative media enhanced the civic and theatrical dimensions of the Assumption processions. I will also examine new forms of literary drama and staged spectacle that produced elaborate narrative performances of the Virgin’s Assumption in Umbria and Tuscany. I will look at how these innovative theatrical formats were later adopted in Lazio and incorporated into local traditions. The civic dramas, which combined literary sources with sacred images, live actors, and sophisticated machinery, were performed in conjunction with the Assumption processions, magnifying the emotional impact of the Virgin’s feast and reinforcing the function of the occasion as an expression of communal identity. I seek to demonstrate that the Lazio Assumption processions were not static rituals but dynamic institutions affected by broader developments in urban popular religion. This chapter provides an expanded picture of the “performed” history of the Assumption feast,

demonstrates the spectrum of ritual functions for images and other visual media, and investigates the extent to which late medieval and early modern urban culture blurred the lines between “image” and “actor,” “liturgy” and “theater.”

7.2 ASSUMPTION PROCESSIONS AND NEW VISUAL MEDIA

The previous chapter examined the ceremonial carrying of religious icons in the medieval Assumption processions of Lazio and its neighboring regions. While these icons were the central “actors” in the processions, they were not the only images used. By the late Middle Ages there were other distinctive visual elements that contributed to the theatrical effect of the spectacles. As discussed in chapter two, the *Inchinata* in Tivoli was characterized by the elaborately-painted wooden *talami* featuring the insignias of the trade guilds that carried them, along with their large ceremonial votive candles. We recall Giovanni Maria Zappi’s late sixteenth-century description of these festive apparatuses:

... in these holy processions all the artisans bring their talami to piazza S. Lorenzo at the cathedral of the city. These talami are decorated according to each craft, with a fire lighted inside, carried by four porters each. All the officials of the guilds carry a white lighted torch of at least four pounds.⁴²⁹

Decorated *talami* were also carried by the trade guilds in Rome’s Assumption procession and are described in the 1462 statutes of Rome’s *Compagnia de Raccomandati del Salvatore*.⁴³⁰ The statutes describe how at the Lateran hospital after the “feet” of the *Acheropita* icon have been washed and the spectators sprinkled with the water, the guilds offer wax votive offerings to the

⁴²⁹ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 834. See also appendix E.

⁴³⁰ ASR, Ospedale del Salvatore, vol. 1009, anno 1462, ff. 3r-11v.

image, which are placed on the wooden *talami*, decorated with the guilds' insignias. To give an idea of how the Roman and Tiburtine *talami* may have been decorated, a 1602 drawing in the Museo del Opera del Duomo in Orvieto reproduces the whimsical insignias of the trade guilds of that city.

The professional *talami* were not only festive decorations; they functioned as symbols or “signs” within a highly competitive, high-politicized institutional structure which was manifested to the community most visibly in the annual Assumption procession. This is made evident by a stone inscription in the courtyard of the *Palazzo dei Conservatori* (seat of the medieval Senate), on the Campidoglio. The inscription on a plaque at the foot of the staircase leading up to the Palazzo declares that the people shall participate in the procession, and then to avoid conflicts between the professional associations, dictates the order in which they are to follow “the holy image” in the procession, because “those who are closer to the image have a higher rank.” The inscription then lists 25 professions along with the threat of a fine of 25 *scudi* of gold if the regulation is not adhered to.⁴³¹ Also the commune of Tivoli designated the official order of the trade guilds in the Assumption procession, as is read in the city's municipal statutes of the fourteenth century or beginning of the fifteenth.⁴³²

By the fourteenth century, another theatrical element was in use in the Assumption processions in Umbria and Tuscany: angels—both effigies and children in costume—which accompanied an image of Mary. Their presence symbolized the heavenly host that escorted the Virgin to her eternal throne. A 1369 cathedral register in Siena records provisions for the

⁴³¹ An English summary of the inscription can be read in Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 501-502. According to Belting, the inscription probably dates from the early sixteenth century but reproduces an earlier decree that the magistrate had had inscribed permanently in his stone seat. (*Likeness and Presence*, 501).

⁴³² *Statuta et reformationes circa stilum civitatis Tyburtinae incipit liber primus* II, 24r. See also appendix C.

Assumption procession. Included among them is an entry for 95 pounds of candles for “the angels of the Duomo”.⁴³³ This refers to an apparatus that was pulled along in a wagon, making angels appear to “ascend” and “descend” in a kind of rotary motion, probably around an image of the Virgin, similar to processional apparatuses that are still used today in some parts of southern Italy.⁴³⁴ From the 1369 text it is unclear whether the angels were effigies or live actors; however, another document from the Duomo, dated August 17, 1406, authorized the director of the Opera del Duomo to spend 10 florins to repair the apparatus, in addition to 36 *soldi* for oranges to give to the little children who played the part of the angels.⁴³⁵ In Orvieto there is a record from the year 1500 of angels accompanying an effigy of the Virgin in the Assumption procession. Chronicler Tommaso di Silvestro who was present at the August 14 spectacle of that year records that the wind was blowing so hard that the people, apparently in a departure from their usual practice of carrying the Virgin effigy on a wooden litter or pulling her in a wagon, considered carrying her in their arms along with “all the angels”—a solution which fortunately was avoided thanks to an improvement in the weather.⁴³⁶

There is no record of angels appearing in Tivoli’s *Inchinata* or any of the other Assumption processions of Lazio, suggesting that in this particular these processions retained a more conservative character which focused on the Savior panels and, in some cases, an image of

⁴³³ Siena, Archivio dell’ Opera del Duomo, *Registro di Camarlingo Biccherna*, f. 248.

⁴³⁴ Cecchini, “Palio e Contrade,” 316.

⁴³⁵ Siena, Archivio dell’ Opera del Duomo, *Registro del Concistoro*, f. 254.

⁴³⁶ *Diario di ser Tommaso di Silvestro*, 140: “Memento come dell’anno 1500 et la vigilia de Sancta Maria d’agosto, come dice quello proverbio, cio’, e’ che quando la Madonna e’ reportata ad Sancta Maria da Sancto Andrea, quando entra dentro in chiesa, quello vento che regna allora, o vero traie, tucto l’anno regna nella majore parte. Allora trasse Urina et Favogno terribile mente, et tucta la nocte passata era stata una grandissima tempesta de vento, et mentre se cantava lo vespero, la vigilia similmente fu una grande tempesta de vento, in tal modo, che fu pensato de portare la Madonna in braccio et cussi’ tucti l’agneli. Finaliter non bisgno’, perche’ quasi un poco se passo’ tale tempesta. Sicche’ vedaremo che regnara’ quest’anno sequente.”

the Virgin with which it was partnered. However, by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries mechanical angels were among the staging devices in the *sacre rappresentazioni*—religious dramas—performed on Assumption Day in Rome, Tivoli, Viterbo and probably in other cities of Lazio. Thus it is clear that conservative Lazio was in fact adopting the dramatic and technical innovations of its neighboring regions to the north, a phenomenon that will be discussed in more depth later.

Another new visual medium that contributed to the theatrical effect of the Assumption processions both inside and outside Lazio was the devotional banner, or *gonfalone*, or *palio*. These fifteenth- and sixteenth-century paintings were decorated with sacred images and functioned as standards for the religious confraternities. The banners of the confraternities in Umbria often depicted the Virgin *Misericordia*, or “Virgin of Mercy.” The image of the Virgin was also featured on the banners of Rome’s *Confraternita del Gonfalone*, evidence for which is found in a confraternity inventory from around 1488 which contains an entry for *duas ymages Beate Virginis vel Confallonis*.⁴³⁷ We do not know what the *gonfaloni* of the medieval and early modern *Inchinata* in Tivoli looked like, but it is almost certain that the confraternities carried them. Still today the city’s confraternities and guilds carry processional banners decorated with their colors and emblems, in addition to the wooden statues of their patron saints which replaced the older *talami*.

The banners were carried to ward off plague or other dangers, but were also carried by the confraternities in feast day processions. Each confraternity carried its own banner, which in

⁴³⁷ ASV, *Gonfalone, Diversi O*. See Marco Vattasso, “Antichi inventarii di vesti e di attrezzi usati nelle rappresentazioni dalla Compagnia del Gonfalone,” in *Per la storia del dramma sacro* (Vatican City, 1903), 96.

Umbria sometimes included the figures of the *confratelli* themselves.⁴³⁸ One way of thinking about these banners, with their sacred imagery and apotropaic associations, is as popular multiplications of the older and more established icons they sometimes accompanied in procession—a veritable army of Marian images on the march, underscoring the civic participation, magnifying the efficacy, and dramatizing the devotional potency of the ritual act of the procession. The multiplication of “personalized” processional banners emblazoned with images of Mary allowed independent lay societies to “own” and control the power of Mary’s likeness in a conception of image devotion very different from the traditional one that focused collective ritual attention on a single, ancient, iconic image.

7.3 THE *DISCIPLINATI* AND THE *LAUDA DRAMMATICA*

In addition to reinforcing the personal and civic meaning and contributing to the visual and theatrical effects of liturgical processions, the lay confraternities of central Italy introduced new narrative and scenographic devices that marked further milestones in the evolution of public religious drama in this region. In the second half of the thirteenth century in Umbria—most notably in Assisi, Perugia, and Orvieto—appeared a new para-liturgical literary form: the *lauda drammatica*.⁴³⁹ These texts were lyrical hymns written in the vernacular (sometimes with Latin

⁴³⁸ On the processional banners of the Umbrian confraternities: Mara Nerbano, *Teatro della devozione: confraternite e spettacolo nell’Umbria medievale* (Perugia: Morlacchi, 2006), 105-112, 305-335; Roberto Rusconi, “La religione dei cittadini: riti, credenze, devozioni” in *Ceti sociali e ambienti urbani nel teatro religioso europeo del ‘300 e del ‘400: convegno di studi, Viterbo, 30 maggio-2 giugno 1985*, eds. M. Chiabo and F. Doglio (Viterbo: Centro Studi sul Teatro Medioevale e Rinascimentale, 1986), 22-24, 29-32; and Daniel Arasse, “Entre dévotion et culture: Fonctions de l’image religieuse au XV^e siècle,” in *Faire croire: modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII^e au XV^e siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1981), 139-146.

⁴³⁹ For the principle literature on the Umbrian *laude drammatiche*: Alessandro D’Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano* (Florence: Successori le Monnier, 1877); E. Monaci, “Appunti per la storia del teatro italiano I. Uffizi drammatici dei disciplinati dell’Umbria,” *Rivista di filologia romanza* 1 (1872): 235-271, II (1875): 29-42; Annibale Tenneroni,

rubrics) by lay religious associations known as *disciplinati* because of their dedication to personal devotion and penance after the example of the mendicant friars. The innovation of the *lauda drammatica* in Umbria later was influential in the development of urban religious drama in Lazio and performances of the Assumption, as well shall see.

The *laude* of the *disciplinati* were inspired by various sources, including the canonical liturgy and early thirteenth-century Franciscan poetic *laude* written in Latin, such as St Francis' famous "Canticle of the Creatures," or "Canticle of Brother Sun."⁴⁴⁰ In addition to their literary contributions, the Franciscans were influential in their intimate and emotive devotional practices that included reenactments of biblical scenes, such as the Nativity. St Francis is credited with staging the first live manger scene, or *presepe*, in Greccio in 1223. The event is immortalized in a panel of the famous fresco cycle attributed to Giotto in the upper church of St Francis in Assisi.

The dramatic *laude* had a distinctive narrative format and contained dialogue and rubrics (*didascalie sceniche*) or primitive "stage directions." The subject matter included scenes from the New and Old Testament, as well as material from apocryphal texts, hagiographical legends, and commentaries of theologians such as the Franciscan St Bonaventure.⁴⁴¹ The *laude* were

ed., *Sacre rappresentazioni per le fraternite d'Orvieto nel Cod. Vittorio Emanuele 528* (Perugia: R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per l'Umbria, 1916); Paolo Toschi, *Origini del teatro italiano* (Turin: Ed. Scientifiche Einaudi, 1955), 674-691; Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, ed., *Laudi drammatiche e rappresentazioni sacre* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1967); M. Apollonio, *Storia del teatro italiano* 1 (Florence: Sansoni, 1938). See also, G. Galli, *I disciplinati dell'Umbria del 1260 e le loro laudi* (Turin: E. Loescher, 1906); Arnaldo Fortini, *La lauda in Assisi e le origini del teatro italiano* (Assisi: Edizioni Assisi, 1961), 7-94; Silvio D'Amico, *Storia del teatro drammatico: Grecia e Roma, Medioevo, dal Rinascimento al Romanticismo* (Rome: Garzanti, 1970), 128-131; Mara Nerbano, "Il laudario di Orvieto: spazialità drammatica, spazialità reale e contesto figurativo," *Teatro e storia* 8, n. 15 (1993): 241-277; Mara Nerbano, *Il teatro della devozione*.

⁴⁴⁰ For the relationship between the Franciscans and the *laude drammatiche* of the *disciplinati*, see Fortini, *La Lauda in Assisi*; C. Bologna, "L'ordine francescano e la letteratura nell'Italia pretridentina," in *Il letterato e le istituzioni* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1982), 781-786; *Il francescanesimo e il teatro medievale: atti del Convegno Nazionali di Studi* (Castelfiorentino: Società Storica della Valdelsa, 1984); and Siliva Carandini, "Teatro e spettacolo nel medioevo," in *Letteratura italiana IV: Teatro, musica, tradizione dei classici* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1986), 35-42.

⁴⁴¹ For example, *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. See De Bartholomaeis, *Laudi drammatiche*, 33.

compiled in *laudarii* which were organized according to the liturgical year and emphasized the feast days of Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Candlemas, Annunciation, Holy Week, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and Assumption. While the subjects of the *laude* varied, they were all meant to be performed.

Onipotente Padre, a *lauda* from Perugia from the second half of the thirteenth century⁴⁴² contains a dramatic narrative of the Assumption of the Virgin, including rubrics indicating the dialogue and basic actions for the actors. In this *lauda*, the angel Gabriel appears at the bedside of the dying Mary and offers her a palm branch, announcing that in glory she will join her Son in heaven.⁴⁴³ Mary asks for a second gift: that she may see the apostles once again before departing her mortal life. Gabriel grants Mary's request and the apostles are miraculously gathered around her. After she gives her girdle as a gift to the apostle Thomas as a reward for his faith, Mary is assumed into Paradise. We have an indirect record of this drama performed for the feast of the Assumption in 1431 by the Perugian confraternity of S. Annunziata, possibly in the church of Santa Maria dei Servi, which was the confraternity's seat.⁴⁴⁴ The *libro di prestanze* or "book of loans" of Perugia's confraternity of S. Agostino contains an entry for a costume loan on August 15 of that year to Gniangnie de Nicholo of the confraternity of S. Annunziata for the following items: four tunics, a shirt, an almuce (a liturgical vestment that is a scarf-like head covering),

⁴⁴² Biblioteca Comunale Augusta, Perugia, ms. 955, ff 61-62v. The *lauda* begins "Hec laus in assumptione Beate Virginis Marie..." The same *Onipotente Padre lauda* is contained in a second *laudario* from Perugia now in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome, ms. A 26, ff. 121-123. The text is published in De Bartholomaeis, *Laudi drammatiche*, 302-308.

⁴⁴³ This encounter is reminiscent of the Annunciation, for which the apocryphal visit of Gabriel to Mary at her death was seen as a type of foreshadowing or pre-figuration. This explains many of the parallels that we see in this period in the narrative and performative elements of the two scenes. For more on this connection between the Annunciation and Assumption, see Yrjö Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine: a Study of the Poetry and Art of the Catholic Church* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912), 416-417.

⁴⁴⁴ For the confraternity of S. Annunziata and the church of Sta. Maria dei Servi, see Nerbano, *Teatro della devozione*, 142.

four crowns, four hats, and two beards. The entry continues that these costume articles were returned on August 21 by Giovagne d'Agnoello.⁴⁴⁵

A *laudario* from Orvieto containing texts from the second half of the fourteenth century includes a drama for the Assumption, *Figliol, con allegrezza*,⁴⁴⁶ similar to that in the Perugian *laudario*. In this case, however, the narrative is more elaborate and it contains more complex “action.” This demonstrates the manner in which the narrative emphasis had evolved over the previous century. For example, the drama begins in heaven with a conversation between Christ and Gabriel about the happy reunion with Mary that will shortly take place. It is also embellished with a poignant monologue in which Mary pleads directly with her son in heaven to release her from her mortal bonds. This is followed by a lengthy dialogue between Mary and Gabriel after which Gabriel, together with his companions, depart to gather the apostles. The subsequent section of the narrative is an elaborate sequence that includes dialogue exchanges between the angels and individual apostles as the heavenly beings call them one by one to Mary’s bedside. This *lauda* also has Christ himself descending from heaven two times: the first time to collect the soul of Mary and the second time, three days later, to assume her mortal body which the apostles have now sanctified with the office of the dead. The bodily Assumption of Mary is followed by the climatic scene in which Christ crowns her queen of heaven and she is worshipped by the apostles and all the angelic host.

⁴⁴⁵ Perugia, ABF, S. Agostino 440. The text is published in an appendix of Mara Nerbano, “Cultura materiale nel teatro delle confraternite umbre,” *Teatro e storia* 19, anno 12 (1997): 329: “A dì XV de agosto. Gniangnie de Nicholo a’ tolto per la fratenita dela Nuntiata tonecielle quatro e uno chamiscio e I amitto e quatro chorone e quatro chapelature e doi barbe. Recho’ Giovagne d’Agnoello a dì XXVI d’agosto.”

⁴⁴⁶ Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, ms. Vitt. Em, 528, ff. 203-211. The *lauda* begins “Questa si fa in Santa Maria d’Agosto. Come la Vergine Maria andò al cielo in carne ed osa. E come el Figliolo la suscitò.” The *laudario*, known as the *Laudario orvietano*, was compiled in 1405 by Tramo di Leonardo, *disciplinato* of the Orvieto confraternity of San Francesco. The text of “Figliol, con allegrezza” is published in De Bartholomaeis, *Laudi drammatiche*, 381-397 and in Tenneroni, *Sacre rappresentazione*, 83-91. For commentary, see also Nerbano, “Il *laudario* di Orvieto.”

The emergence of these *laude* indicate new literary inspirations for the celebration of the feast of the Assumption and its ritual performance. From the surviving texts related to the liturgy of the much older Assumption procession in Rome, it appears that their primary literary inspirations were biblical, especially the Old Testament *Song of Songs* and its allegorical joining of the *sponsus* and *sponsa*.⁴⁴⁷ The mystery of this sacred union as expressed through biblical allegory is reenacted in the symbolically-potent but relatively straight-forward ritual encounter between icons of Christ and the Virgin that occurred in the Roman Assumption procession and its counterparts in other cities of Lazio.

In contrast, the literary sources for the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Umbrian *laude* were the early medieval apocryphal narrative legends of the Virgin's Assumption,⁴⁴⁸ which were synthesized and popularized in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, compiled around 1260.⁴⁴⁹ The thirteenth century saw an increasing interest among the urban laity in both the rich narrative devices of the ancient apocryphal legends and in the reenactment of those devices in dramatic form.

It is interesting to observe, for example, that the Virgin's Coronation, which appears as a strong theme in Voragine's narrative and receives particular emphasis in the Assumption *lauda* from Orvieto,⁴⁵⁰ was a *topos* that was gaining major currency in this period in both Church

⁴⁴⁷ See Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, 78:798-800; Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, 1:282-289; and Fulton, "The Song of Songs."

⁴⁴⁸ For the early narrative legends, see Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine*, 405-434; and Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption*.

⁴⁴⁹ For Jacobus de Voragine's version of the Assumption of the Virgin, see my discussion in chapter two.

⁴⁵⁰ The text reads as follows (rubrics in italics for clarity): "*Cristo dice*: Lu Ciel patie difetti, ché tu non ci eri, o dolce Matre mia; or si gionta ai diletti dove avirai la lieta compagnia. O beata Maria, te' la corona, po' che si Regina; en questa corte sua sta per li peccatori ad abocare./ *La prima gerensia*: Salve, Vergine Matre, Alta Regina del Ciel coronata!/ *La secunda gerensia*: Da tuo Figliolo e Patre sopr'onne creatura esaltata!/ *La terza gerensia*: O Imperatrice beata, luce splendente dell'eternal vita!/ *Tutte e tre insieme*: Nostra corte è adempita; chi en te ha fede si venga a salvare./ *L'Apostoli dicono insieme*: L'angelica natura odim cantar con dolce melodia; Alta Regina pura,

doctrine and in art. In the original Assumption rites that were practiced in Rome by the ninth century and that spread throughout Lazio around the early eleventh century (i.e. the ceremonial greeting between an image of Christ and his mother, either in the form of an icon or embodied by a church dedicated to her) the Coronation is more or less implied. However, we see that in later medieval literature and the dramatic reenactments of the Assumption inspired by it, the Coronation is actually *performed*. There seems to be an important parallel here between the popularity of this narrative element of the Assumption legend and the proliferation of the Coronation in every medium of art, including panel painting, sculpture, manuscript illumination, and mosaic, such as Franciscan friar Jacopo Torriti's late thirteenth-century apse mosaic in the Roman basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore, the destination of Rome's Assumption procession and the backdrop for its ritual encounter between images of Christ and Mary.

In Tivoli too there may be hints of an early representation, or "performance," of the Virgin's Coronation that may have been influenced by the growing popularity of Assumption narratives. Today, after the bowing ceremony of the *Inchinata* the two icons are carried into Sta. Maria Maggiore and placed facing each other across the nave. In Zappi's sixteenth-century description, however, the *Madonna delle Grazie* image was placed "on the right hand of the Savior," and the faithful, like today, were admitted into the church to venerate the two images. The icons "enthroned" together in this manner at the culmination of the Assumption procession is evocative of the scene of the Virgin's Coronation in the narrative legends of the Assumption: Christ assumes Mary bodily and crowns her Queen of Heaven; then the apostles and all the hosts of heaven worship and adore her.

incoronata in Ciel, Virgo Maria, o caritosa e pia, priega Giesù, eterno Salvatore, che, per lu suo amore, ne meni in Ciel con lui a riposare" (De Bartholomaeis, 396-397, lines 371-402).

7.4 THE PERFORMANCE OF THE *LAUDE*

The rubrics of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Umbrian dramatic *laude* are brief and contain no explicit directions on how they were to be performed; the staging was probably very simple. However, various clues from the text give us an idea of how the *mis-en-scene* of the *laude* was achieved. Mara Nerbano, whose recent scholarship on the literary and performative elements of the texts has contributed extensively to discourse on the subject,⁴⁵¹ observes that the “action” of the *laude* consistently takes place in one or more of four locations: heaven, hell, the world, and terrestrial paradise (the Garden of Eden). Nerbano notes that when a personage in the drama moves from one of these realms to another, the rubrics often describe him or her as “ascending” or “descending.” This suggests that the staging may have been organized according to a vertical orientation wherein “heaven” was an area elevated above “earth”.⁴⁵² There are multiple examples of implied vertical movement in the rubrics of the Orvieto *lauda* for the Assumption. A few examples: “Christ descends with the angels and says to Mary:...”⁴⁵³; “Christ calls Mary and translates her. And then disappears immediately and says:...”⁴⁵⁴; “Christ descends and appears to the apostles.”⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵¹ Nerbano, “Il laudario di Orvieto”; Nerbano, “Cultura materiale nel teatro delle confraternite umbre”; Nerbano, “Play and Record: Ser Tommaso di Silvestro and the Theatre of Medieval and Early Modern Orvieto,” in *European Medieval Drama. Papers from the International Conference on European Medieval Drama 8* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2004), 127-171; Nerbano, *Il teatro della devozione*.

⁴⁵² Nerbano, “Il laudario di Orvieto,” 254-256.

⁴⁵³ “Cristo scende coll’Angeli e dice a Maria:...” (De Bartholomaeis, *Laudi drammatiche*, 388).

⁴⁵⁴ “Cristo chiama Maria e falla transire. E puoi spare subito e dice:...” (De Bartholomaeis, *Laudi drammatiche*, 389).

⁴⁵⁵ “Cristo scende e appare a l’Apostoli” (De Bartholomaeis, *Laudi drammatiche*, 393).

We know that sometimes the dramatic *laude* were performed inside churches,⁴⁵⁶ and Nerbano has argued the likelihood that the architectural topography of the church served as a kind of primitive stage set. For example, the higher, more sacred apse and altar area may have symbolized “heaven” while the lower, more profane space of the nave may have served for “earth”.⁴⁵⁷ Applying this model, it is instructive to consider the possibility that in the performances of the Assumption *laude*: 1) the realm of heaven from which Christ and the angels “descend” and into which Mary is “assumed” was represented by the presbytery area, separated from the nave by steps; 2) the scenes at Mary’s deathbed in Jerusalem took place in the nave; and 3) the sepulcher into which Mary’s body was placed before it was taken up uncorrupted into heaven was represented by the church’s crypt. It may be further instructive to consider that for dramas inside churches where the altar area was involved, sacred images could also have played a role in the performance as stand-ins for holy personages.

While the space and setting of the earliest *laude* are uncertain from the text of the rubrics, more concrete sources of performative details are instead the inventories of the confraternities that staged them. The oldest surviving inventories, which contain various kinds of costumes, props, and effigies for religious dramas, date to the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The inventories of the confraternity of San Domenico in Perugia from the years 1339 to 1386 record an array of such objects.⁴⁵⁸ For example: a black garment and veil for the Madonna, seven black

⁴⁵⁶ A fragment of the Statuti dell’Opera del Duomo of Orvieto of 1421 reads, “Fustigatorum sive disciplinatorum actus et mores, qui ab initio fuerant ad Dei et sanctorum eius laudem et honorem hodie ad mundi et vanitates totaliter fiunt [...] Que licet in eorum remotis domibus talia facta sint redarguenda cum fiunt publice in Ecclesiis penitus sunt dampnanda” (L. Fumi, ed., *Statuti e regesti dell’Opera di Santa Maria di Orvieto* [Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1891], 56).

⁴⁵⁷ Nerbano, “Il laudario di Orvieto,” 260-263.

⁴⁵⁸ Perugia, Archivio della Confraternita di S. Domenico, *Inventari*, ff. 2r-11. The inventories are published in Monaci, “Appunti per la storia del teatro italiano.”

veils for the three Marys, a shirt for the Lord for Good Friday, a leather garment and leather shoes for Christ, a linen garment for Christ for the Passion, two crowns for Christ, two knights clubs, weapons for centurions and Longinus, and a cross with two thongs and a sword. Even more interesting for this study are the entries for “a large Crucifix,” “three nails for the left of the Crucifix,” “three nails for the right of the Crucifix,” and “two thieves.” Here we have references to large crucifixes, iron nails for attaching crucifixes to the cross, and even effigies of the two thieves who were executed with Christ. Similar items (along with demon masks, wigs, beards, and curtains) are found in the mid fifteenth-century “book of loans” of the confraternity of S. Agostino: “our large crucifix with three iron nails.”⁴⁵⁹ There are even inventory entries for effigies of the Baby Jesus for use, we can presume, in staging nativity scenes or a reenactment of the Flight into Egypt.⁴⁶⁰ Thus it is clear that there was a variety of media employed in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Umbrian dramatic plays that included life-size sculptures or effigies that took on the role of “actors.”

From 1448 we have an eye-witness account of a Perugian Passion play that describes this curious integration of living and manufactured protagonists.⁴⁶¹ The chronicle known as the *Diario di Graziani* records a representation of the Passion on Good Friday on the occasion that Franciscan friar Roberto da Lecce came to the city to preach. According to the account, one Eliseo de Cristofano exited from the cathedral in the guise of Christ, naked, with the cross on his

⁴⁵⁹ Perugia, ABF, S. Agostino 440, f. 13v. The text of the book is published in Nerbano, “Cultura Materiale,” 329-346 (appendix).

⁴⁶⁰ The 1386 inventory of the confraternity of San Domenico in Perugia contains an entry (n. 32) for “uno Gesuino” (“one little Jesus”) (Perugia, Archivio della Confraternita di S. Domenico, *Inventari*, f. 9r). Additionally, the book of loans of the confraternity of S. Agostino contains an entry for “el Giesomino” that was loaned January 9-16, 1429 (see Nerbano, “Cultura Materiale,” 332). For discussion of the baby Jesus effigies, see Virginia Galante Garrone, *L'Apparato scenico del dramma sacro in Italia* (Turin: Vincenzo Bona, 1935), 35-36.

⁴⁶¹ F. Bonaini, A. Fabretti, and F.L. Polidori, eds., *Cronache e storie inedite della città di Perugia dal MCL al MDLXIII seguite da inediti documenti* (Florence: G.P. Vieusseux, 1850-1851), 598-599.

shoulder and crown of thorns on his head. The actor circled the piazza and returned to the door of the cathedral where he met a woman in the guise of Mary, dressed all in black and weeping. “Christ” then put down the cross he has been carrying and to it was nailed an effigy of the crucified Christ (“puseno igu’ la dicta croce, e pusonce uno crucifisso che ce stava prima e dirizaro su la ditta croce”). Afterward, actors playing Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea detached this effigy from the cross in a simulation of the Deposition and lay it in Mary’s lap (“E puoi venne Nicodemo e Ioseph ab Arimathia, e scavigliarono el corpo de Iesu Cristo, quale lo poseno in gremio della Nostra Donna”).

Thus the performance used a life-size detachable Crucifixion that served as the “actor” nailed to the Cross and was then un-nailed, wept over in the arms of the Virgin, and later laid in the sepulcher. The use of these objects reveals a blurring of the traditional lines between “sculpture” and “stage prop”, “sacred ritual” and “theater.” We have an idea of what the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century crucifixes may have looked like from nineteenth-century Perugian historian Serafino Siepi who described the crucifix venerated by Perugia’s confraternity of the Annunziata: it was a life-size effigy of the dead Christ, carved in relief, with natural hair and beard, with movable joints connected inside the body by cords.⁴⁶² It is interesting to note that the phenomenon of sculpture-as-stage-actor was not new in central Italy in the fifteenth century but had been going on for quite some time. The thirteenth-century life-size wooden Deposition groups with moveable joints found in some cities in Tuscany, Umbria, and Lazio—including in Tivoli—bear witness to a long tradition of mixed-media dramatic experimentation in this region.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶² S. Siepi, *Descrizione topologico-istorica della citta’ di Perugia* (Perugia, 1822), 729.

⁴⁶³ For the central Italian wooden Deposition groups: Camillo Pierattini, “Una ‘lettura’ del gruppo ligneo della Deposizione di Tivoli,” *AMSTSA* 54 (1981): 141-208; Claudio Bernardi, “La Deposizione di Cristo nei teatri della

As for the Assumption dramas, we have no textual examples from the earliest performances (those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) of effigies used as “actors.” Nevertheless, there are clues that already in this period the Assumption dramas may have involved experimentation with illusionistic staging effects achieved through specially-crafted props or mechanisms. One of these was the “cloud machine.” A rubric in the Perugia *lauda* for the Transfiguration, *Sacciate ch’ el mio pate e’ fonte*,⁴⁶⁴ dictates that a cloud cover Christ and his disciples and that a voice speak from the cloud (*Tunc nubes coperiat eos, et quedam vox cum numbe exivit*). In the Perugian *lauda* for the feast of the Ascension, *O Padre onnipotente* (the version in the Vallicelliana *laudario*),⁴⁶⁵ at the moment of his Ascension Christ announces the “resplendent” cloud that will carry him into heaven (“Ed ecco aparechiata una nuvola ch’ e’ tanto resplendente e cuopreme de presente. En su ne vo con tucto mio splendore”).

Mara Nerbano has observed that in the Vallicelliana text, the annotation *nuvola* (cloud) written in the margin next to the verses in which Christ announces the appearance of the cloud is evidence that the “cloud” was not just as a literary device but also a staging device.⁴⁶⁶ It is possible that a version of the cloud machine was also used in the staging of the Assumption dramas. This was likely for two reasons: 1) the central significance within the narrative—similar to the Transfiguration and Ascension dramas—of supernatural transformation, and of holy

pietà,” *Scultura lignea, Lucca 1200-1425*, ed. C. Baracchini (Florence: S.P.E.S., 1995), 15-18; Mariagiulia Burrelli and Antonino Caleca, “Sacre passioni: il Cristo deposto del duomo di Pisa e le Deposizioni di Volterra, Vicopisano e San Miniato,” *Scultura lignea*, 24-43; Roberto Borgia, “La Deposizione lignea del duomo,” in *Tivoli ieri e oggi: riesumazione di fatti tra cronaca e storia*, ed. Giuseppe Porcelli (Tivoli: S. Paolo, 1985), 284-286.

⁴⁶⁴ BAP, ms. 955, f. 23v; BVR ms. A 26, ff. 50v-51r.

⁴⁶⁵ BVR, ms. A 26, ff. 102v-105r.

⁴⁶⁶ Nerbano, *Teatro della devozione*, 243. According to Nerbano, the marginal notation is clearly ancient but appears to post-date the redaction of the *lauda* by not more than a few decades. She explains that “The convergent components suggest that it was a machine of considerable dimensions, such as to transport the weight of a man, capable of hiding from sight at least three actors and maneuvering in a lowering and raising movement along a vertical axis (243).

personages (Christ, Mary, and the angel Gabriel) ascending and descending between heaven and earth; and 2) the importance of the mechanical device of the “cloud” in later, well-documented Assumption plays, a topic I will return to shortly.

7.5 SACRE RAPPRESENTAZIONI

By the fifteenth century the seminal *laude drammatiche* of the Umbrian *disciplinati* had become one component in the development of a more elaborate type of religious play known as the *sacra rappresentazione*.⁴⁶⁷ *Sacre rappresentazioni* were performed by lay confraternities in urban centers throughout central Italy. They are characterized by their enhanced scenographic complexity that emphasized staging and illusionistic *ingegni* or mechanical apparatuses. They are well-documented in contemporary chronicles and confraternity statutes and inventories. This

⁴⁶⁷ The origins of the *sacra rappresentazione* is a subject that has received a considerable amount of attention, and scholars do not agree on one model or even how to define the term. In some cases use of the term is confined to the religious plays performed in Florence in the fifteenth century. In other cases it is used more broadly to refer to a new, sophisticated theatrical tradition that originated in central Italy, came into its own in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, inspired by multiple influences, and spread throughout Italy. In any case, the *sacra rappresentazione* is generally considered in many ways to be the culmination of Italian popular religious theater in the vernacular before such performances were largely suppressed by the Church in the Counter Reformation. This study uses the term *sacra rappresentazione* in its more inclusive sense and is primarily concerned with the performative and material innovations of the *sacre rappresentazioni* in Tuscany and other parts of central Italy. It does not seek to argue a model for its literary origins, since that is not immediately relevant to the subject at hand and is outside the scope of this dissertation. Suffice it to note here that the Umbrian *laude* contributed to the development of the *sacra rappresentazione* (in fact at times the terms are used interchangeably in the scholarship), and this can be observed in the continuity of many narrative and performative elements from the thirteenth through the sixteenth century. For a helpful “state of the problem” discussion on *sacre rappresentazioni* see Paola Ventrone, “Per una morfologia della rappresentazione fiorentina,” *Teatro e culture della rappresentazione: lo spettacolo in Italia nel quattrocento*, ed. Raimondo Guarino (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1988), 195-225. See also: Alessandro D’Ancona, ed., *Sacre rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, ed. (Florence: Le Monier, 1872); Bartholomaeis, *Laudi drammatiche*; D’Amico, *Storia del teatro drammatico*, 131-135; Toschi, *Origini del teatro italiano*, 691-714; Anna Esposito, “Apparati e suggestioni nelle ‘feste e devotioni’ delle confraternite romane,” *ASRSP* 106 (1983): 311-322; Mario Fabbri, Elvira Garbero Zorzi, and Anna Maria Petrioli Tofani, eds., *Il Luogo teatrale a Firenze: Brunelleschi, Vasari, Buontalenti, Parigi: Firenze, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Museo Mediceo, 31 maggio-31 ottobre 1975* (Milan: Electa, 1975); Ludovico Zorzi, ed., *Il teatro e la città: saggi sulla scena italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1977); Garrone, *L’apparato scenico*.

section of this chapter will examine these fifteenth- and sixteenth-century theatrical innovations as they relate to the feast of the Assumption in the regions of Tuscany, Umbria, and Lazio.

In the *sacre rappresentazioni* the sense of heightened drama and the emotional response elicited from the audience was achieved more through visual illusion than through the subdued, devotional literary devices that were the primary medium of the earlier *laude drammatiche*. This was, naturally, symptomatic of the broader cultural climate of artistic and scientific experimentation that characterized the Renaissance. It was also one of the reasons why such forms of religious theater were frowned upon by the Catholic Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: sponsored by lay associations and therefore outside of immediate ecclesiastical control, the elaborate and popular performances were not officially-sanctioned church productions and competed with canonical authority for the attention of the faithful.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries representations of the Assumption of the Virgin exhibited ever more sophisticated methods for entertaining and amazing urban audiences. A major objective of the dramas was to make the spectators feel in the most palpable way possible that they were seeing the Virgin rise up into heaven. This was achieved through mechanical devices that actually lifted and transported the Virgin to “heaven,” either in the form of a live actor or effigy. The development of this machinery is associated in particular with Florence, the site of important technological experimentation of the period.⁴⁶⁸

The devices were used in a variety of illusionistic scenes, including the lowering of the angel of the Annunciation from “heaven” to his encounter with Mary, and the raising of Jesus and the Virgin *into* heaven at the moments of the Ascension and the Assumption. According to

⁴⁶⁸ An excellent volume detailing the early modern technological innovations in Florentine religious theater, including contemporary drawings and modern scale replicas, is the exhibition catalog *Il Luogo teatrale a Firenze* (full bibliographic reference in note above).

sixteenth-century artist and art historian Giorgio Vasari the famed architect and engineer Filippo Brunelleschi designed some of these devices for churches in Florence.⁴⁶⁹ We have a description of such a machine in the church of Santa Maria del Carmine from a 1439 eye-witness account by Abramo, Russian bishop of Souzdal, who related a performance of the Ascension of Christ.⁴⁷⁰ Abramo described seeing, at the climax of the spectacle, a contraption disguised as a cloud, lowered from above by seven ropes operated by “invisible” mechanisms. According to Abramo’s account the “cloud” was round, sumptuously decorated, and was surrounded by rotating disks painted with life-size angels. On either side of the cloud stood a little boy dressed as an angel with golden wings. The actor playing Christ entered the cloud vehicle which then raised him toward his father in “heaven,” a platform in the upper reaches of the church, in an awesome choreographed illusion. Abramo expressed his amazement at the manner in which Jesus appeared to float through thin air as the church filled with glorious music. When Jesus reached heaven, lights hidden in the “cloud” suddenly ignited, enveloping him in a wondrous aura of illumination. Based on Abramo’s description, architect Cesare Lisi built a wooden scale model of the church with this cloud machine.⁴⁷¹ Assumption dramas were also performed in Santa Maria del Carmine, by the *Compagnia dell’Agnese*.⁴⁷² This confraternity probably used the same

⁴⁶⁹ “These devices and inventions are said to have been made by Cecca; even though Filippo Brunelleschi had made such things much earlier, nonetheless many carefully thought-out things were added by Cecca” (as translated by Thomas Pallen in *Vasari on Theatre* [Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999], 19).

⁴⁷⁰ The original account was transcribed by Professor Wesselofsky of the University of St Petersburg and published in *Russische Revue* 10 (1877): 425ff. For the Italian translation, see D’Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano* I:251-253.

⁴⁷¹ The model is reproduced in Fabbri, Garbero Zorzi, and Petrioli Tofani, *Il Luogo teatrale*, 59, fig. 1.18.

⁴⁷² Vasari explains that in Florence craftsmen were employed to create equipment for four major festivals, each staged by a different neighborhood. The festivals and the neighborhoods responsible for them were: “St Igantius for [the quarter of] Santa Maria Novella, St Bartholomew (called S. Baccio) for Santa Croce, the Holy Spirit for Spirito Santo, and for the Carmine the Ascension of Our Lord and the Assumption of Our Lady” (as translated in Pallen, *Vasari on Theatre*, 54). On records for Assumption dramas staged in the church of Sta. Maria del Carmine, see also Francesco Palermo, *I Manoscritti palatini di Firenze* (Florence: Cellini, 1853-68), 2:460.

or similar mechanism to represent the climactic assumption of the Virgin into heaven. A cloud machine was also used at the Florentine pageant of the *Assunzione* at the feast of St John in 1514.⁴⁷³ In fact, scenes of the Virgin's Assumption were one of the most common uses for "cloud machines" both inside and outside Italy.⁴⁷⁴

7.6 IMAGES AS ACTORS

It was not just live actors who were the cargo of the miraculous new machines and illusionistic devices that were taking a larger role in urban religious theater. Physical evidence, which is confirmed by textual sources, demonstrates that effigies, either in the form of panel paintings or sculptures, also functioned as "actors" employed in conjunction with aerial machinery to execute illusions of biblical and apocryphal miracles.

We find an example of this in fifteenth-century Siena. Andrea Campbell conducted a study in which she used contemporary documents to reconstruct a spectacle that took place in the Duomo, either in correspondence with the liturgy of the mass or as a short drama inserted into the mass.⁴⁷⁵ Inventories from the 1440s from the Opera del Duomo show payments to the cathedral's master builder "for the play of the Assumption made for the Feast of St Mary."⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷³ Nerida Newbiggin, *Nuovo corpus di sacre rappresentazioni fiorentini del quattrocento* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1983), xlix.

⁴⁷⁴ On mechanical devices used for theatrical representations of the Assumption: Barbara Palmer, "Staging the Virgin's Body: Spectacular Effects of Annunciation and Assumption," in *The Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, ed. Clifford Davidson (New York: AMS Press, 2005), 155-172; J. Francesc Massip, "The Cloud: a Medieval Aerial Device, its Origins, its Use in Spain Today," in *The Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*, 262-273; J. Francesc Massip, "The Staging of the Assumption in Europe," *Comparative Drama* 25 (1991): 17-28.

⁴⁷⁵ Andrea Campbell, "A Spectacular Celebration of the Assumption in Siena," *Renaissance Quarterly* 58, n. 2 (summer, 2005): 435-463.

⁴⁷⁶ Siena, Archivio del Opera della Metropolitana, AOMS, *Debitori e creditori*, 1445, 63r : "Nostro capomaestro per lo gioco de l'Assunzione si fa per la festa...di Santa Maria."

The inventories also include expenses for an iron *trono del'Assunzione* (“throne of the Assumption”) and an *edificio del'Assunzione* (“structure of the Assumption”), which, judging from the use of the term *edificio* in similar contexts, probably refers to a backdrop or stage set for the Virgin’s throne.⁴⁷⁷ Descriptions from the inventories further reveal that the *edificio* was decorated with seraphim, foliate designs, and cotton paper, which may have been used to create clouds.⁴⁷⁸

Campbell’s reconstruction demonstrates that the architecture of the church gives further clues as to how this Assumption play was performed. There is a *botola*, or tunnel, between the ceiling of the adjacent baptistery (constructed into the hill behind the cathedral apse) and the entrance to the cathedral presbytery. Covered by a trapdoor, the *botola* is prominently placed in front of the high altar and above the baptismal font on the baptistery side. Photographs of the tunnel on the baptistery side taken before restoration in 1981 show deep vertical gouges both along the opening of the tunnel and on the surface of the wall below it. Campbell proposes that if the *edificio* or staging structure referred to in the inventories for the Virgin’s throne was situated at the high altar, the vertical gouges could have been caused by a pulling action of ropes which, invisibly operated from the baptistery via the *botola*, hoisted up with a pulley system an image or statue of the Virgin on a throne and suspend it in the air in front of the audience. The physical evidence of a performance at the high altar could be supported by the imagery that would have functioned as the background for the spectacle—Duccio’s famous *Maestà*. This altarpiece

⁴⁷⁷ Campbell, “A Spectacular Celebration,” 452.

⁴⁷⁸ “Di’ avere per più carta bambagia comprò, frondi e altri intagli per adonare il detto edificio del’Assunzione...” (*Debitori e Creditori*, 1445, 64r); “Giovanni di Marcho, detto di Cozzarello, ie avere a di’ 22 d’agosto per le infrascrite spese gli furono comisse per misser Giovanni operaio per l’edificio per l’assunzione si facie per Santa Maria d’agosto: die avere per calce e gesso sottile e l’edificio costano lire 3 soldi 6. E die avere per una oncia di lacca soldi 14. E per spago e per refe e penegli costano lire 1 soldi 7 denari 4” (*Debitori e Creditori*, 1448, 97v).

features a cycle of the life of the Virgin, including what were probably depictions of the Assumption and the Coronation in the lost central panels. If the scenario played out according to Campbell's reconstruction, there would have been an interesting interplay between the action of the drama and the iconographic setting behind it.

Altarpieces themselves could have played the protagonists in Assumption dramas performed inside churches. This seems to be the case with two wooden relief panels made in Tuscany between the 1450s and 1480s by Vecchietta and his workshop.⁴⁷⁹ In a panel of the Burial and Assumption of the Virgin now in the Villa Guinigi museum in Lucca, the mandorla containing the Virgin *Assunta* is actually a separate piece, independent from the rest of the panel containing the burial scene.⁴⁸⁰ Similarly, in an Assumption now in the church of San Giorgio in Montemerano the sides of the Virgin's mandorla show abrasions where dowels appear to have attached it to the panel.⁴⁸¹ The damage suggests the mandorla was designed to be lifted off its background. Campbell believes that the high-relief backgrounds of these sculpture panels functioned like the *edificio* of the Virgin effigy in the performance in the Siena cathedral from which the enthroned Virgin was lifted to reenact the miraculous moment of her Assumption. Conclusions about the performative roles of these artworks based on physical evidence are strengthened by contemporary textual records of Assumption celebrations elsewhere in Europe. For example, an *ordo* of the year 1532 from Halle, Germany describes an elaborate procession in

⁴⁷⁹ See Campbell, "A Spectacular Celebration," 456-459, for a discussion of these relief sculptures as evidence for the use of wooden altarpieces in Assumption performances.

⁴⁸⁰ For the Lucca panel, see *Museo di Villa Guinigi, Lucca: la villa e le collezioni* (Lucca: Ente Provinciale per il Turismo, 1968), 159, fig. 72.

⁴⁸¹ For the Montemerano panel, see Cristina Gnoni Mavarelli, Ludovica Sebgondi, and Ulisse Tramonti, eds., *La Chiesa di San Giorgio a Montemerano* (Florence: Edizioni della Meridiana, 2000), 112; and Enzo Carli, *Dipinti senese del contado e della Maremma* (Milan: Electa, 1955), 103, pl. 58.

the church at the conclusion of which an effigy of the Virgin, resting upon a platform in front of the choir, is drawn up through the roof.⁴⁸²

7.7 PERFORMING THE ASSUMPTION IN LAZIO

The *sacra rappresentazione* and technological innovations for miraculous representations of the Virgin's Assumption spread into Lazio, where they are documented from the fifteenth century. The performances may not have been as elaborate as those in Tuscany. Sometimes the apparatus for lifting the Virgin consisted of an iron belt attached to a rotary or pulley mechanism. This seems to have been the case in the Assumption plays performed in Rome. A 1498 inventory from the archive of the *Compagnia del Gonfalone* lists props and equipment for its feast day plays at the Colosseum and church of Santa Lucia. It includes the following: "four iron bars for the angels that are used in the cloud when the Assumption of Our Lady is made with the hanging cloud," "a long iron bar with the belt and the hanging cloud for Our Lady that goes up into heaven," and "an iron belt for Our Lady."⁴⁸³

Also mechanical devices for "miraculously" manipulating sacred images were adopted in ritual performances for the Assumption. At the Assumption of 1496 when the *Compagnia del Gonfalone* carried the *Salus Populi Romani* icon out of the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore in a

⁴⁸² Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS lit. 119, Ed. VI., 3, Ordin. Hallense anni 1532, fol. 166v-167r. The entire text and commentary on the *ordo* can be read in Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 256-257: "...Finita antiphona, senior sinistri chori imponet antiphonam Assumpta est Maria in celum, et non ultra. Succentor incipiet solenniter Benedictus, quod continuabitur solenniter in organo et choro per totum. Ad Gloria Patri prepositus solus thurificabit Imaginem Beate Virginis. Sub Sicut erat decanus et cantor innectent diligenter funes Imagini, eius facie versa ad orientem, et permittent euehi in altum. Et iubilabunt interim in organis ecclesie et tubicines uel fistulatores ciuitatis super testudinem, et dum amplius Imago non videbitur."

⁴⁸³ ASV, *Gonfalone*, *Diversi O.* The inventory is published in Vattasso, "Antichi inventarii," 101: "Item, quattro ferri da agneli, che se adoperano in nella nuuila o amandola, quando se fa la Assuntione de la Nostra Donna, con la nuuila appede"; "Item, uno ferro longo con la cintura et la nuuila appede per la Nostra Donna che salliva a cielo"; "Item, una cintura di ferro a canchani per la Nostra Donna."

special processional tabernacle and placed it on its festival stand, the doors of the tabernacle appeared to open by themselves to reveal the icon.⁴⁸⁴ As I have already mentioned in chapter two, the next year the confraternity commissioned a new processional tabernacle with iron rings for pulleys on the back which was fitted with ropes to allow the icon to “bow” to the *Acheropita* at the climactic ritual encounter.⁴⁸⁵ Thus, the original medieval ritual, in which the icons were inclined toward each other with considerable physical effort by the men who bore their heavy wooden litters on their backs, had evolved into a high-tech extravaganza in which the miraculous bow was now achieved through the artful use of machinery.

Sacre rappresentazioni for the Assumption were also staged in other cities in Lazio. In 1462 chronicler Niccola della Tuccia recorded a drama of the Assumption performed in Viterbo during a procession for *Corpus Christi* on the occasion of a visit by Pope Pius II. According to Niccola’s account,

When the procession reached the piazza of S. Lorenzo, mass was sung outside of the church by the cardinal of San Marco. Afterward a representation of our Lady was made when she went into heaven. She was raised from the ground on an apparatus that seemed like heaven with angels playing and singing, and two angels descended to earth singing. And the Virgin Mary entered in the midst of them and left her girdle to St Thomas, and then went into heaven.⁴⁸⁶

In Tivoli, Giovanni Maria Zappi recorded a similar spectacle that took place in 1540 in honor of the visit of Princess Margaret of Austria. Zappi recounts that,

⁴⁸⁴ ASV, Arciconf. Gonf., reg. 159, f. 55.

⁴⁸⁵ ASV, Arciconf. Gonf., 120 “Entrata et Uscita, 1497. For more on the Compagnia del Gonfalone and the function of the *Salus Populi Romani* icon at the feast of the Assumption: Wisch, “Keys to Success,” 169-184.

⁴⁸⁶ Ignazio Ciampi, ed., *Cronache e statuti della città di Viterbo* (Florence: Cellini, 1872), 86: “Gionto poi alla piazza di S. Lorenzo, fe’ cantare la messa solenne fuor di detta chiesa dal cardinale di S. Marco: e cantata la messa, fu fatta una rappresentazione di nostra Donna quando ando’ in cielo; e ando’ sopra un ingegno da basso in alto, che pareva come il paradiso con angeli, soni e canti: e dui angeli discesero in terra cantando; e la Vergine Maria entro’ in mezzo di loro, e lasso’ la contura a S. Tommaso, e poi se n’ando’ in cielo. Fatte dette cose, il papa entro’ nel palazzo del Vescovato, e moltissima gente ando’ dietro, e dette la benedizione al popolo, che si stimo’ fossero circa 150 migliaia di persone: e pose indulgenza di colpa e pena in quella processione.”

The Tiburtini, after the games of fighting and hunting, for the pleasure and diversion of her Highness, ordered the performance of the Assumption of the glorious Virgin, in which she ascends into the sky, in the piazza of Santa Croce in view of a window of a house where her Highness sat under a baldacchino to shade her from the sun. This representation and Assumption was made with great and fine mysteries from which everyone took great contentment and great devotion. It was seen that when the Madonna began to ascend into the sky, she was inside a great wheel encircled by angels which turned around it. Her Highness took satisfaction from this beautiful mysterious act, considering the beautiful design and artfulness.⁴⁸⁷

Thus, by at least the sixteenth century sacred dramas staged by the commune or a particular lay confraternity were incorporated into Tivoli's festivities for the Assumption. Performed on Assumption Day, the play functioned as a dramatic finale to the liturgical procession the night before, both reinforcing the theological message of the feast and underscoring its civic character. Keith Lilley examined a similar situation in medieval Chester where at the feast of *Corpus Christi* mystery plays were performed in an open area just outside the city walls while the procession itself ran through the streets within the walls. Lilley observed that,

instead of seeing these two performances being in opposition to each other—as a division between religious and civic bodies—this arrangement could be interpreted as mutually reinforcing, for both involved the association of corpus Christi with the urban body as a whole, a symbolic unification of their two bodies where the city and its inhabitants took part in two reciprocating displays of community and communion.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁷ Zappi, *Annali e Memorie di Tivoli*, 92: "I Tiburtini dopo li giochi di lotta et caccia fatti per contento et spasso di sua altezza si diede ordine far l'Assunta gloriosa Vergine Maria quando salli nel cielo la quale se destinò farla in la piazza di Snata Croce in prospettiva di una finestra di una casa dove sua altezza doveva star con il baldacchino, al solido di sua comodità per il sole, la quale representatione et Assunta se ritrovò esser fatta con tanti gentil misterii che ciaschedun ne prese gran contento et gran devotione: si viste quando la Madonna incomenciò a sallir nel cielo, si ritrovava dentro in una gran rota ricenta di intorno di angeli li quali giravano intorno, di tal sorte bell'atto misterioso che sua altezza ne restò satisfatta considerando il bell'ingegno et artificio..." (Zappi does not specify on what day the play was performed, but it was probably Assumption Day because of the festive "games of fighting and hunting" that were going on and the fact that Zappi tells us Margaret was in Tivoli during August [from June 12 to September 17 to be precise]).

⁴⁸⁸ Lilley, *City and Cosmos*, 171-72.

Additionally, in reenacting the Virgin's Assumption in literal and dramatic form, the play staged in Tivoli on August 15 served as crowd-pleasing entertainment and—performed for visitors like Princess Margaret of Austria—would have helped construct a reputation for the city as a cosmopolitan cultural center that could compete with its big brother Rome.

More of Zappi's writings in relation to the *Trittico del Salvatore* reveal this competitive attitude of the sixteenth-century Tiburtini toward the *Urbs*. Zappi wrote that he would like that one day Tivoli's "glorious" image of the Savior, "one of the beautiful devotions of the world," be brought in an elaborate procession, "according to the solemn procession on the vigil and day of the feast of Santa Maria in our city of Tivoli," to Rome. This fanciful procession would accompany the Savior triptych on a litter with 25 horses, 100 footmen, a school of pipers, and a choir of canons from the cathedral of S. Lorenzo. The Savior triptych would be preceded in the procession by an elaborately-decorated wagon carrying trumpeters and flautists dressed in rich livery. On the wagon's front would be emblazoned the words *Soli Salvatori Honor et Gloria* and on the back, *Superbi Tiburis*. At the Roman basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore, the Tiburtine icon would be given 40 German soldiers to guard it. Continuing from Sta. Maria Maggiore the procession would pass the palaces of cardinals, lords, and gentlemen and salute them with artillery fire. All this would be performed "only for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ and for no other effect, not for haughtiness, neither vainglory, but only to have God in front of our eyes." Arriving at Ponte Sant'Angelo, the Savior triptych would be hailed with canon fire. At the steps of St Peter's the image would be honored with a play, performed on a grand stage and using a cloud machine, of the Tiburtine Sibyl's prophecy of Christ to Emperor Augustus, a play composed by fellow Tiburtino Antonio Quervo. After the play, the Savior image would be displayed in the "chapel of the Canons" in St Peter's, illuminated by lamps and torches and

attended by 10 gentlemen. On the following day, the image would be brought back to Tivoli in a second procession of equal pomp and ceremony.⁴⁸⁹

Thus (in spite of Zappi's protestations to the contrary) dramatic performances for the Assumption such as the hypothetical one described here, were viewed by the Tiburtini as a means of glorifying Tivoli and its sacred history—most especially vis-à-vis Rome. Further, the play Zappi's imagines at St Peter's, which reenacts the Tiburtine Sibyl's prophecy of Christ to Emperor Augustus, reveals that by the sixteenth century dramatic performances of classical legends may have been integrated into Tiburtine processional practices for the Assumption. There is reason to believe that this type of integration of performative formats did in fact occur in early modern Tivoli. In another section of his chronicle Zappi recorded that during Holy Week of the year 1547 a reenactment of Christ's Deposition was performed with the group of five moveable life-size wooden sculptures depicting Christ, Mary, Nicodemus, and St John (in Zappi's day housed in the collegiate church of S. Pietro, but later moved to the cathedral when it was rebuilt in the mid seventeenth century). Zappi recorded that Hercules was the narrator for the play.⁴⁹⁰

This illustrates how throughout the Middle Ages and early modern period "theater" or "drama" was characterized not by strict definitions but by an *integration* of performative expressions. "Liturgical drama," "procession," and "sacred play" were not separate art forms conceived of and practiced in isolation from one another. Rather, they were interconnected and often performed together or at the same feast to enhance the expressive and devotional power of a celebration. In Zappi's time, at the feast of the Assumption Tivoli staged both the ancient

⁴⁸⁹ Zappi, *Annali e memoriedi Tivoli*, 146.

⁴⁹⁰ Zappi, *Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, 71.

Inchinata procession and an Assumption play—the former on the eve of the feast and the latter on the feast itself. They were two rituals employed in tandem to maximize the sanctity (and the entertainment value) of the celebration. The older ritual obviously influenced the conception of the newer ritual, but both were preserved and invoked in the multi-layered fabric of the collective urban memory.

Alessandro D’Ancona examined this phenomenon in his seminal work on the origins of theater in Italy. He observed that religious processions sometimes included carts or “pageant wagons” carrying actors or wooden effigies that stopped at a certain point in the procession to perform a drama.⁴⁹¹ Paolo Toschi wrote that, “We know that the procession is an essential element of the rite-spectacle.” He cited the example of Good Friday processions that featured actors impersonating Christ carrying the cross, the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, and Roman soldiers on horseback.⁴⁹² More recently, Roger Reynolds articulated this idea with the following observations,

Indeed, these cycle plays have generally been thought to have been performed as part of a religious procession, such as the Corpus Christi procession...within processions themselves there might be “tableux vivants” tracing the history of salvation in the Old and New Testaments and the presentation of popular saints such as Christopher, Sebastian, the four Evangelists, doctors, virgins and the Last Judgment. Indeed it has been argued that these tableaux were an intermediate between processions per se and plays and that they evolved out of the emblematic representations of groups marching along...⁴⁹³

⁴⁹¹ D’Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, 1:226-227.

⁴⁹² Toschi, *Le origini del teatro italiano*, 690-91.

⁴⁹³ Reynolds, “The Drama of Medieval Liturgical Processions,” 131-132.

7.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I sought to open up the analytical scope of my dissertation by framing the medieval Assumption procession and its ritual use of images in Tivoli and other cities of Lazio within the cultural and technological developments that occurred in central Italy between the late Middle Ages and early modern period. Thinking of the processions as a form of religious “theater” allows us to construct a paradigm of performance theory that considers the critical interplay of images, actors, and mechanical stagecraft as we try to understand the meaning and history of the Assumption feast. Using contemporary literary sources, I examined how the conception of the feast of the Assumption was a fluid phenomenon in which new attitudes and innovations affected ritual celebrations. Originating in Rome as a show of papal pomp with heavy imperial overtones, then spreading throughout Lazio through the jurisdiction of episcopal authority, the Lazio Assumption processions took on a new civic character with the rapid development of urban culture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The processions were organized by the municipalities and were showpieces for the cities’ professional societies and confraternities who carried the sacred icons in the processions and were responsible for their cults. The new lay societies also introduced new visual elements into the processions that functioned as markers of evolving civic society and a devotional religiosity founded upon the ideals of the mendicant friars.

In a similar manner, the vernacular *laude* of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century *disciplinati* in Umbria represent a new, popular devotional medium that stood outside canonical ecclesiastical control. The *laude* reveal an increasing interest in the narrative details of the Assumption legends and in reenacting those details in interactive dramatic formats that experimented with staging, effigies, and aerial devices. The *sacre rappresentazioni* of the

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in many ways marked the transition between medieval religious drama and modern theater. Drawing on multiple sources, they elaborated upon the earlier dramatic *laude* with an unprecedented interest in the interplay of the human body with images and advanced theatrical apparatuses in highly illusionistic performances designed to engage the senses and sensationalize the mystery of the Virgin's Assumption.

The new narrative dramas and theatrical spectacles of Umbria and Tuscany initially contrasted with the more conservative performative expressions of the Virgin's Assumption in Lazio. Here, it seems the communes continued through the late Middle Ages to perform the ancient greeting ritual of icons that originated in Rome, without evidence yet of experimentation with new dramatic formats. New innovations were adopted in Lazio by the fifteenth century, however, and were incorporated into the Assumption festivities of Rome and other communes like Tivoli and Viterbo. They do not appear to have replaced the traditional image rituals with the ubiquitous Savior panels but instead were incorporated into the celebrations for the Assumption and other feasts like *Corpus Christi*, giving them new dimensions of civic expression and artistic creativity. Thus, the development of religious theater in central Italy was not strictly evolutionary in nature. In Lazio, processions at the Assumption with the ancient "bowing" ritual between icons remained distinctive and continued to be performed throughout the development of more "modern" religious theater. In a few cities, most notably Tivoli and Subiaco, these processions survive to the present day.

It is accurate to say, nevertheless, that between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries theatrical modalities in Lazio came to be more and more interconnected, both in conception and practice. For this reason it is instructive to apply an interdisciplinary methodology in analyzing the Lazio Assumption processions. Without one it is difficult to fully understand and appreciate

these rituals in their socio-historical context. Yet, heretofore this kind of anthropological approach has not been undertaken with the Laziale processions. With this study I hope to have achieved that broader analytical scope and to have demonstrated that while the Laziale processions were unique, they also were part of, and subject to, a rich cultural milieu in which new spiritual ideals, literary and technological innovations, and modes of self expression were at work in the formation of a rich and dynamic urban society on the threshold of a “modern” era.

8.0 CONCLUSION

For visitors to Tivoli today the *Inchinata* is a magical and, for some perhaps unexpectedly, moving experience. For believers and non-believers alike it is a reverent and edifying moment of unity, introspection, and goodwill in which time and the outside world seem to stand still. The personal meaning and venerability of the event for the Tiburtini is palpable and deep. Families are present in multiple generations. The aged, leaning on canes, make their way with slow, deliberate steps. Serene and earnest voices lift the tones of hymns into the dark night sky. Women weep. The men in red smocks sweat and groan under the weight of their precious burden. Their small children walk alongside in matching red robes, tied around their waists and wrists until their little bodies are big enough to fill them. One day they too will bear the badge of honor and carry the Savior along the well-worn path of their fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers before them. The young men of the guilds bear their wooden saints in their arms, their backs erect and their faces smiling with pleasure and pride in the solidarity of brotherhood and reassurance of tradition. Following on foot or lining the sides of the narrow, medieval lanes in quiet expectation, the faces of men and women, young and old, youths in baseball caps and clerics in sober habits, say that this ritual is a defining and uniting moment. When the Virgin Mother appears, glowing with illumination in the church door, those same faces speak the joy of the sacralized humanity that unites them in that instant. “Misericordia! Misericordia!” Have mercy on us all. The fireworks light up the façade of the church like a burst of flames. Everyone on that night is proud to be a Tiburtino. Outsiders feel the awesome force of the many ages that

the people have tread the same stones. Year after year. Century after century. Almost a millennium.

To not feel the power of these details and not be moved by the ageless, almost transcendental quality of the *Inchinata* is to not understand it. The *Inchinata* is first and foremost an expression of community and devotion—a social ritual. It is not a dusty relic in a library or museum case, but a living, breathing institution. Any study that hopes to capture its essence and meaning must recognize this. An art historical examination of the ritual imagery of the *Inchinata* that lacks a sociological sensibility misses the point. In this dissertation I have taken a significantly anthropological approach to the procession. The meaning and importance of its ritual images are inextricably interwoven with the city's history and identity. This is why a study of the early history of the *Inchinata* is important even though there are gaps in the documentary record. Explicit textual sources on the event and its images are few before the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, insightful interpretations of the *Trittico del Salvatore* and *Madonna delle Grazie* can be proposed and paradigms of ritual performance for the *Inchinata* constructed based on a wealth of material evidence and textual sources relating to the political, religious, and social history of medieval and early modern Tivoli and processional practices in its neighboring urban centers.

I have demonstrated the following key factors that provide a firm basis for a plausible and historically-accurate reconstruction and analytical interpretation of the *Inchinata* in the late Middle Ages. First of all, there is consistent, descriptive textual documentation from the eighth through sixteenth century on the Roman procession, which was the inspiration for Tivoli's *Inchinata*. Also, it is explicitly stated in the Tivoli city statutes of 1305 that a nocturnal procession was performed on the vigil of the Assumption and that an image of Christ was carried

in that procession. This image is without question the *Trittico del Salvatore*, which according to the inscription in the Duomo received a new chapel in 1224, dedicated by Cardinal Ugolino, future Pope Gregory IX. This demonstrates that the cult of the *Trittico del Salvatore* was firmly established in Tivoli at least by the early thirteenth century. Moreover, the mention in the statutes of the “men who go with the Savior in procession” on that night is a likely reference to the early *Confraternita del Salvatore* which in later centuries is recorded as playing a central role in the *Inchinata* as the carrier of the image’s processional stand, as it is today. The confraternity’s participation from an early date is especially likely when we consider that Rome’s *Società dei Raccomandati del Salvatore* had been organized around the late thirteenth century and probably inspired the founding of its Tiburtine sister society shortly thereafter.

I have also demonstrated that the *Trittico del Salvatore* was modeled on the protagonist of Rome’s Assumption procession, the Lateran *Acheropita*, as were the rest of the family of twelfth- through fourteenth-century Laziale panel paintings of Christ Enthroned to which the *Trittico del Salvatore* belongs. There is persuasive physical evidence (veils, ceremonial coverings, water damaged or sawn off feet) that these images had public ritual functions. This evidence is strengthened by the appearance of Assumption-related iconography (the intercessory Virgin and scenes of Mary’s Assumption) on many of the panels and triptychs, and by the late medieval and early modern textual sources from a number of cities in Lazio that confirm that the Savior panels were carried in nocturnal processions on August 14.

Furthermore, I have provided ample evidence of a significant continuity in performative practice between the late medieval *Inchinata* and that of today, starting with the fact that the street disposition and structural fabric of today’s procession route has remained largely unchanged since the late Middle Ages. Additionally, today’s circular route which follows the

boundaries of the medieval city, along the now-destroyed defensive walls, and includes the staging of ritual ceremonies at city gates that roughly correspond to the four cardinal directions, clearly derives from well-known formulas for medieval rogation processions designed to invoke God's favor and protection for a community. The prayers, too, are modern translations of medieval Gregorian chants containing psalms, praises, and supplications, which were the liturgical basis for the rogations. Similarly, the liturgy for the climax of the spectacle when the procession reaches the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore contains modern Italian versions of the exact same Latin antiphons contained in medieval Roman missals, breviaries, and antiphonals for the mass and office of the Assumption.

I have demonstrated that contrary to what some scholars may assume (an assumption which has resulted in the unjustified neglect of this fascinating and rich topic) there is an impressive amount of evidence for what the *Inchinata* was like and what its ritual imagery signified in the late Middle Ages. Piecing together textual, physical, iconographic, topographical, cartographic, and liturgical clues from Tivoli, Rome, and neighboring cities can create a rather authoritative model. This dissertation has presented this model.

Establishing the most likely origins for the *Inchinata* is an important piece of the model. It is undisputed that the *Inchinata* and the other medieval Assumption processions around Lazio were inspired by Rome's Assumption procession. Determining when and why this occurred, however, requires an investigation into the climate of papal and civic politics of Rome and Lazio in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the "Gregorian Reform" era the papacy sought to revitalize the church and augment and solidify its authority. This was an especially critical strategy for the Church in a period of growing secular culture in Italy and emerging communal governments around Lazio pushing for independence. Brenda Bolton and Hans Belting have

proposed the theory that around the early twelfth century Rome, in a sense, “exported” the cult of the *Acheropita* and the Assumption procession as part of a papal campaign to codify liturgical practice and encourage loyalty in Lazio. This is in fact the most likely modality of transmission. The case of Tivoli helps explain why. Having achieved a precocious independent communal government, controlling the road to Abruzzo, stubbornly Ghibelline, and a stronghold of several Holy Roman Emperors, Tivoli was a constant thorn in the side of Rome. Nevertheless, Rome was still Tivoli’s spiritual and cultural capital. Rome may have encouraged the replication of the *Acheropita* and its liturgical functions, possibly introduced into Tivoli and cities like it via episcopal channels, as a kind of papal cult that brought the urban centers of Lazio more securely into Rome’s orbit.

Gerhard Wolf’s and Nino Zichomelidse’s argument that the replication of the Lateran *Acheropita* and Rome’s Assumption procession in the medieval cities of Lazio was an assertion of civic identity is also an important consideration here. While the *Acheropita* cult may have originally spread as a papal cult (which is especially likely in Tivoli since its Savior panel is the oldest replica, dating to the late eleventh or early twelfth century), there is no question that the Savior panels came to function as civic symbols and the processions in which they were carried civic expressions that perhaps sought to *rival* Rome. This is manifested in the self-referential character and unique format of Tivoli’s *Inchinata*.

I have demonstrated how the *Inchinata* was location-specific to Tivoli and explored its performed geography. Unlike in Rome, Tivoli’s procession with the Savior triptych makes a perfect circumscription of what was the city’s inhabited area in the late Middle Ages, following its defensive walls and sacralizing its gates. Because this formula derived from rogation practices, it is possible that the Assumption celebration introduced in Tivoli around the twelfth

century was incorporated into an existing local religious procession or celebration (it is interesting that from the procession's departure from the Duomo until it reaches Sta. Maria Maggiore the liturgy and ritual ceremonies make no *direct* reference to the Virgin; this is the opposite of what one would expect for a procession for a Marian feast day). In any case, it is clear that Rome's medieval Assumption procession was not the only source for the *Inchinata*. The Tiburtine procession, therefore, should never be characterized as an "imitation" of Rome as it often has been in the existing scholarship. The fact that Tivoli's *Inchinata* contains a featured ritual that Rome's Assumption procession did not (the bridge ceremony) reinforces this conclusion.

The particular route and performative practices of the *Inchinata* reveal an interesting duality. In one sense Tivoli is defining itself as a community and celebrating its local history. The sacred geography of the procession incorporates all of the medieval city's most strategic religious, defensive, and historical monuments (the Duomo, the "acropolis" with its famous "temple of the Sybil" and adjacent bridge, the hospital of S. Giovanni, the churches of S. Vincenzo, Sta. Maria Maggiore, S. Pietro Maggiore). With the *Inchinata*, Tivoli is drawing all these monuments into a self-referential spatial and ritual matrix. The procession sacralizes the city's defensive structures, invokes its patron-protectors, and celebrates its sacred history, local mythology, and miraculous images. In another—and not unrelated—sense, the *Inchinata* is invoking a geography of rivalry with Rome, the city on which it had obviously modeled its monuments over the centuries. That Tivoli's most important medieval churches—S. Lorenzo, S. Paolo, S. Giovanni, Sta. Maria Maggiore, S. Pietro—echo the dedications of Rome's principle papal basilicas is revealing. There is also the important factor that the essential ritual elements of the *Inchinata* derive from Rome. In both cities, an image of the Savior was brought out of its

home (in Tivoli the cathedral of S. Lorenzo and in Rome the chapel of S. Lorenzo in the *Sancta Sanctorum*) and brought to a hospital dedicated to S. Giovanni where it was ritually cleansed. In both cities there was also a symbolic meeting between the Savior icon and an image of the Virgin at the procession's finale at the main Marian church (in Tivoli the *Madonna delle Grazie* at the Franciscan church of Sta. Maria Maggiore and in Rome the *Salus Populi Romani* at the papal basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore). Thus, medieval Tivoli recreated Rome's Assumption procession, but we might say that it recreated it in its own image. We might even consider that this serves as a metaphor for the on-going tensions and rivalries between Tivoli and Rome in the Middle Ages from the early twelfth century when Tivoli established an independent government and entered into an age of bloody warfare with Rome, until the mid fifteenth century when the *Urbs* finally brought its troublesome neighbor to heel, at last constructing the massive Rocca Pia near the site of the former Porta Avenzia as a literal and symbolic manifestation of its dominance.

Within the political, religious, and civic context of medieval Tivoli it seems that the *Trittico del Salvatore* as the protagonist of the *Inchinata* held multiple layers of meaning. Today's liturgy for the procession—whose salvific and intercessory emphasis I have demonstrated to have derived from medieval Assumption theology and Rome's medieval Assumption procession, most notably in the footwashing ritual—casts the Christ image in the role of spiritual Savior and Redeemer. However, the circular route of the procession around the city walls and the staging of ceremonies at the city gates (in particular the bridge ritual), reveals the Savior triptych to be apotropaic also in a more immediate and literal sense: as a civic *palladium* it protected the city from invading enemies and the threat of the river, a perennial natural nemesis with its continual floods.

The medieval *Inchinata* was a living, evolving institution that responded to social changes and alterations of the urban fabric. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries experienced enormous watersheds in the evolution of urban culture in central Italy: the advent of the mendicant friars with their new models of charity and personal devotion, the emergence of the confraternities, the growing prominence of the trade guilds, the solidifying of municipal government, the rise of the middle classes. It was a transformative period for popular religion and the conceptualization of urban religious performance. In my discussion of “procession-as-pilgrimage” I proposed that the *Inchinata* underwent a paradigmatic progression that added layers of symbolic meaning for the community. The procession seems to have become a vehicle for the influential mendicant communities (the dominant presence at both the hospital of S. Giovanni and Sta. Maria Maggiore) and the ruling bourgeois class (many members of which were founding and operating the religious confraternities) to promote bourgeois constructs of Christian conduct. In this model, against the backdrop of the thirteenth-century “pilgrimage revival,” the Savior triptych’s journey through the city in the procession was conceptualized as a kind of pilgrimage during which Christ—in the guise of the pious wandering stranger—is “received” at the new pilgrims’ hospices at the city gates. At the hospital of S. Giovanni, operated by the Dominicans and the confraternity of San Giovanni Evangelista, the image is washed and anointed in a didactic ritual that metaphysically casts the Savior in the role of spiritual teacher: he becomes both the giver and receiver of perfected Christian charity. As a stage-set for this symbolic pilgrimage, the city functioned as a microcosm of the “World” and an allegory of the Christian experience of piety, charity, and redemption.

To establish a regional context for Tivoli’s *Inchinata* I compared it to other documented Assumption processions in medieval and early modern Lazio. I based this comparison on my

observations of the procession in Subiaco, one of the few surviving processions, and on early thirteenth- through eighteenth-century primary textual sources of the processions in Viterbo, Tarquinia, Subiaco, and Anagni. The results of this investigation confirmed what has thus far in the scholarship mainly been put forth as an assumption: that this was a performative tradition widespread in Lazio and distinctive to *this region*. The performances of the Laziale processions were characterized by the following elements: they were held on August 14, the vigil the Assumption, they featured the ritual transportation of a monumental replica of the Lateran *Acheropita* by a designated confraternity and the accompaniment of all the community's trade guilds, and at the finale they staged a symbolic reunion between Christ and his mother which took the form of a ritual "reception" of the Savior image by the Virgin, represented either by a Marian icon or a church with a Marian dedication (or both).

A comparison of these practices to performances for the Assumption *outside* of Lazio, in the cities of Orvieto, Siena, Parma, Pisa, and Spoleto in the neighboring regions of Umbria, Tuscany, and Emilia Romagna, reveals important differences. These processions and festivities seem to have been consistently celebrated on August 15, the day of the Assumption (as opposed to the vigil). Additionally, no Christological images were used. Instead, the protagonists were always Marian images or relics like the Virgin's girdle. This contrasts with the Laziale model in which representations of Mary played a more "passive" role, receiving Christ at the *end* of his journey. The reason why this distinction is important is that it shows that the principle rituals for the Assumption in medieval Lazio were dominated by the Roman cult of the Savior, not that of the Virgin. This speaks to the force of *imitatio romae* at work in medieval Lazio, a force that was less active in shaping liturgical paradigms elsewhere. My research revealed an exception to this; but this exception strengthened my conclusions about the role of Rome in disseminating image

cults and processional practices in cities where its influence was strongly present. In 1235 in the Umbrian city of Perugia, Pope Gregory IX confirmed the August 14 Assumption procession in which a Savior panel was carried from the cathedral to the Franciscan convent of Sta. Maria in Monteluca. Gregory himself may have instituted the procession in the first place since he was the founder and patron of the convent when he was still Cardinal Ugolino, Perugian legate to the Apostolic See.

My examination of Assumption processions in Lazio and Perugia raised several problems that could not be conclusively resolved within the scope of this dissertation, whose primary focus is Tivoli. I have, however, formulated preliminary investigative models for these problems that can serve as the basis for further inquiry. The first problem relates to the extent to which Marian images in Lazio were used in symbolic encounters with the Savior panels and what iconographic types were preferred. Chapter five presented a focused examination of Tivoli's *Madonna delle Grazie* icon, which features the half-length, intercessory Virgin. I argued that this panel, belonging to the *Madonna Avvocata* image type held specific political associations for the Franciscans of Sta. Maria Maggiore. They likely introduced it in Tivoli in the second half of the thirteenth century as an extension of the Roman image cult of the *Madonna Avvocata*, which at that time was most prominent at the Franciscan church of Sta. Maria in Aracoeli on the Capitoline Hill. More importantly for the *broader* meaning of the image type in terms of ritual practice is that it was closely related to Assumption theology. The Virgin's pose of bent arms raised to her side is an explicit reference to intercession and redemption, the central message of the Assumption feast. This *Avvocata* is depicted in the *deesis* configurations of the Laziale Savior panels that survive as triptychs. Also the Lateran *Acheropita* was likely part of a *deesis* in the Middle Ages, as has been persuasively argued recently by Nino Zichomelidse, Herbert

Kessler, and others. Moreover, the Madonna Avvocata is featured in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century apse mosaics of the Roman basilicas of Sta. Maria Maggiore and Sta. Maria in Trastevere accompanied by inscriptions taken from the Assumption liturgy. Finally, given the fame and venerability of the *Madonna Avvocata* icon from the *Monasterium Tempuli* convent, together with its intercessory iconography, it has been proposed by a number of scholars over the last 30 years, most strongly by William Tronzo, that it had a featured ritual function in Rome's Assumption procession (although we do not know in what capacity).

Thus, it has been conclusively demonstrated that at least by the twelfth century *Madonna Avvocata* imagery was closely tied to Assumption theology and the feast of the Assumption in Rome and Lazio. This is reflected in the *Avvocata* panels in Tivoli, Vetralla, Orte, and Capena—all featured in ritual encounters with replicas of the *Acheropita* in Assumption processions. This raises the question of why, then, the Marian images used in the Assumption rituals of this region were not *all Avvocate*. The *Salus Populi Romani* icon, which greeted the *Acheropita* at the culmination of Rome's medieval Assumption procession at Sta. Maria Maggiore, is an image of the Madonna and Child. The thirteenth-century Marian icon at Viterbo's cathedral, and most likely candidate for a ritual image in that city's Assumption procession, is a replica of the *Salus Populi Romani*. Since at least the eighteenth century the Assumption procession in Subiaco has used a late medieval or early modern panel of the Virgin's Assumption.

I propose that in some cases a *Hodegetria* image (the half-length Virgin gesturing to the Christ Child at her side) may have fulfilled the role of the intercessory Virgin in Laziale Assumption rituals. This seems to have been the case with the Sta. Maria Nuova *Hodegetria*, which is the probable subject of the earliest textual description (c. 1000) of a symbolic encounter between the Lateran *Acheropita* and a Marian image in the Roman Assumption procession.

Additionally, it must be considered that not every city in Lazio had an *Avvocata* or *Hodegetria* panel or one deemed sufficiently venerable for the sacred meeting of son and mother in the Assumption feast. In those cases, a different image with a more established cult may have been employed in the ritual. Another possibility is that over the centuries *Avvocata* images used in Laziale Assumption processions were lost or destroyed and replaced with other images. These preliminary proposals may be confirmed or clarified by additional investigative leg-work that tracks down more Marian images used in Lazio's medieval or early modern processions and any textual sources that document their histories. To date there has been no study that seeks to methodically identify and document these images. Such a study, providing that there are enough surviving images and documentation, would undoubtedly shed light on the problem of the role of Marian imagery in Laziale Assumption rituals.

The other problem raised by my comparative examination of Assumption processions in Lazio is what the significance of their routes is. More precisely, what the significance of their beginning and end points is. No textual source I know of gives a detailed description of a procession route, but what the texts do usually record are where they started and ended. One revelation of these textual sources is that in cities that were the center of a diocese, in other words those with cathedrals, that monument is where the Savior icon was usually kept. Today the cathedrals are where many more of the panels are found. There are enough sources from the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries recording the panels in cathedrals to assume that if a panel is in a cathedral today, that was probably always its home. That the cathedrals usually functioned as home to the Savior panels is evidence of a relationship between the image cult and the ecclesiastical network of episcopacies in Lazio. It suggests that bishops or cathedral canons may often have been the patrons. Furthermore, in cases where the panels were housed in a different

type of church, the cathedral was invariably the *destination* of the Assumption procession, further hinting that the event, if not formally then at least informally through tradition and civic practice, fell under the purview of local episcopal authority.

The late medieval Assumption processions were above all *civic* events. Communal institutions came to play an increasingly important role in the celebration, as I have repeatedly emphasized throughout this dissertation. This civic character is confirmed by the fact that in some cases, even when a city had a cathedral, its Savior panel was not housed there but in a different church. In these cases, usually it was a collegiate church such as in Viterbo, where the icon's home, Sta. Maria Nuova, was the seat of civic assemblies and home to the city's archive. Another example is Anagni where the city's Savior icon was kept in the collegiate church of S. Andrea, dedicated to the thirteenth-century local saint Andrew Segni, the importance of whose cult in Anagni is evidenced by the depiction of his monumental figure on the right wing of Anagni's Savior triptych.

What we can infer from this survey of locations for the Lazio Savior panels and the origination points of the processions is that while we can identify possible patterns of patronage for the image cults—the most common denominator being the episcopal sphere—these patterns are not universal. An authoritative model would require the examination of any additional textual sources that may be in the local archives of the communes and confraternities. Some questions that may be asked in such an investigation include the following: 1) Is there any relationship between the kind of churches that house the icons and the era in which the icons were made? This dissertation treats a group of images made over a two hundred year period; it is possible that there were shifts in patronage and image function between the early twelfth and early fourteenth century. For example, all of the oldest panels (those made in the twelfth and early thirteenth

century) are housed in cathedrals. In contrast, the Viterbo and Anagni panels, made sometime later in the thirteenth century, are not housed in cathedrals even though those cities *have* cathedrals. The churches in which the Viterbo and Anagni panels are housed had strong civic associations historically, a factor which surely calls for further exploration in relation to the panels' origins; 2) Sometimes the confraternity in charge of a panel, as in Tivoli, had its seat in the cathedral, and more specifically in the chapel in which the panel was kept. Is it possible that in some cases the confraternities were the patrons of the images? If so, this must only have been the case with the later icons since the confraternities originated only around the late thirteenth century (e.g. the patron of Tivoli's *Trittico del Salvatore* was definitely *not* Tivoli's *Confraternita del Salvatore* since the icon predated the confraternity by about two centuries); 3) A number of the medieval textual sources describe the Savior panels as being carried in processions at occasions besides the Assumption (such as the feast of *Corpus Christi*); how may the performance of these processions—and the symbolic role of the Savior panels within them—have differed from the Assumption processions? 4) What kinds of ritual or liturgical functions may the panels have had aside from processional images? In other words, while this dissertation focuses on the panels as moving images in urban space, it is worthwhile to consider that the majority of the time the panels were not moving about but stationary inside specific architectural settings. What was their interior space like and what was their relationship to rituals performed inside these spaces?

The destination of the Laziale processions was usually the city's principle Marian foundation. This is the case, for example, in Rome, Tivoli, Subiaco, Tarquinia, and Perugia (Umbria). That a major urban church dedicated to the Virgin was the destination of the procession is not surprising. Perhaps, however, the *variety* of Marian churches that we are

dealing with *is* (Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome is a papal basilica, Sta. Maria della Valle in Subiaco is a parish church; Sta Maria in Castello in Tarquinia was a collegiate church; Sta. Maria Maggiore in Tivoli and Sta. Maria della Luce in Perugia are both Franciscan churches—the former a foundation for men and the latter one for women).

The connection between these last two processions and Franciscan foundations could offer some interesting insights into the involvement of papal politics in the Assumption festivities. In Perugia it was Pope Gregory IX who founded the convent of Sta. Maria in Monteluce and promoted the procession that went to it on the eve of the Assumption. Pope Boniface VIII confirmed Anagni's Assumption procession in 1300. One wonders then what the role of papal politics played in Tivoli's *Inchinata* procession since in the early and mid thirteenth century the papacy was an outspoken supporter of Tivoli's Franciscan community of Sta. Maria Maggiore: Gregory IX himself, followed by Innocent IV and Alexander IV, sent repeated orders to the commune of Tivoli to remove the remaining Benedictine monks from the monastery and turn it over to the friars. And in 1257 Alexander IV formally took possession of Sta. Maria Maggiore for the papacy.

While there is no explicit textual documentation connecting the papacy to Tivoli's Assumption procession it is worth considering that around the mid thirteenth century one could have existed. Further investigation of the procession routes could shed light on such connections that possibly existed elsewhere in Lazio. This would reveal an important counterpoint to the potent *civic* role of the Assumption processions and present an opportunity to examine tensions that must have existed between ecclesiastical authority and a developing sense of communal identity in the emerging urban centers of the region. The socio-political binary of *imitatio romae* that characterizes the history of the Assumption processions in Rome and the surrounding region

is an intriguing problem that merits further critical examination. It could offer insights into how a sense of place and tradition in individual urban communities in Lazio coalesced while coexisting with the ever-present, monolithic influence of the papacy next door.

The final chapter of the body of this dissertation explored collectively the Laziale Assumption processions as religious theater and their ritual images as “actors.” The late medieval and early modern processions were staged spectacles in which each performative component was carefully planned and regulated and its sensory impact maximized. They were colorful, musical events in which the participants with their costumes and props moved like set pieces on the urban stage. Given the processions’ fundamentally performative nature, it is instructive to consider them in relation to developments in late medieval and early modern religious drama in neighboring Umbria and Tuscany—especially considering the frequent treatment in those dramas of the Virgin’s Assumption. The methodological model I apply here, which considers the whole of central Italy, reveals the creative cross-fertilization that occurred between Lazio and its neighboring territories when urban centers blossomed and rivaled the cultural and artistic hegemony of Rome.

The emergence of the religious lay confraternities in central Italy in the second half of the thirteenth century, inspired by the mendicant friars’ new models of personal and civic religiosity, dramatically and permanently changed the character of the Laziale Assumption processions. The advent of these new civic institutions deepened the civic importance of the processions, in which the confraternities and trade guilds now played featured roles. The processions, in addition to displays of religious piety, functioned as theatrical showcases for the who’s-who of the community. The most prestigious and influential societies enjoyed the privilege of carrying the Savior panel and walking closest behind it. The friars and confraternities also introduced new

“stage props” into the performance of the processions, such as elaborate wooden *talami* (later replaced by statues of patron saints), colorful costumes, and banners or *gonfalon*i. The transformative effect of these new media on the performative character of the processions cannot be overstated. Prior to their introduction the focus of the processions was clear and unchallenged: the Savior icon on its throne-like litter and, sometimes, ceremonial silk veil or decorated silver revetment. The new religious orders and lay societies introduced an era of equal-opportunity self-expression in which a proliferation of images and ornamental objects competed for attention in a dazzling extravaganza. We must consider the effect of this spectacle on a society unexposed to the barrage of print and digital visual stimuli that defines western culture today. It would have been a sight indeed.

In Umbria and Tuscany the development of the literary *lauda drammatica* in the thirteenth century and the miraculous *sacra rappresentazione* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries represent narrative innovations in central Italian dramatic performance. Many of these religious plays were written and performed for the feast of the Assumption and can perhaps be considered as multi-media vernacular elaborations on the ancient symbolic bow between images of Christ and the Virgin that typified the Roman and Laziale liturgical processions. What was, in cities like Rome, Tivoli, and Subiaco, a simple genuflection between two paintings had become reconceptualized in Umbria and Tuscany as a dramatic narrative with extensive dialogue and complex combinations of images, effigies, live actors, and sophisticated machinery that actually lifted Mary up into “heaven” at the moment of her Assumption.

From the lack of literary texts and records of these types of performances in medieval Lazio, it seems that this region, being under the direct influence of Rome and the papacy, was more conservative and maintained the old rituals in favor of narrative plays. Nevertheless, this

changed over time. Beginning in the fifteenth century we have descriptions of dramatic plays for the Assumption performed in places like Rome, Tivoli, and Viterbo. The new narrative plays did not replace the traditional Assumption processions or ritual bows between icons, but were incorporated alongside them. In Rome and Tivoli the vigil of the Assumption was celebrated with a procession, and the day of the Assumption was celebrated by a narrative play. This phenomenon suggests that in Tivoli and places like it in Lazio in the early modern period there was a fluidity of performative paradigms for the Assumption. The urban centers of Lazio were adapting to innovations in theatrical expressions (which seem to have functioned also as civic status symbols) by presenting them as continuations or “finales” to the miraculous ancient encounters with which the previous night’s processions concluded.

This dissertation has treated a subject—Tivoli’s *Inchinata* and a regional model of processional practice and ritual image function at the feast of the Assumption—which has been circled and speculated about for many decades but never confronted directly. I believe this is in part because of an assumption that the documentation would be inadequate to do justice to the topic (an assumption which I have demonstrated to be false), and in part because the mystique of Rome’s Assumption procession and the Lateran *Acheropita* have traditionally exercised a strong attraction for scholars, at the expense of equally rich and challenging studies to be found in other parts of Lazio. As I have demonstrated, Tivoli’s *Inchinata*, together with its ritual images of the *Trittico del Salvatore* and *Madonna delle Grazie*, present a whole separate set of analytical possibilities from Rome’s Assumption procession. This is not in spite of the fact that Tivoli is a smaller neighboring city of Rome, but *because* it is a smaller neighboring city of Rome. The driving premise of this dissertation is that there is much to be learned from examining cultural and artistic exchanges between Rome and its surrounding urban centers, some of which, like

Tivoli, Subiaco, and Viterbo, were great commercial and military powers in the Middle Ages. Much scholarship has focused on the distinctive cultural identities and civic competitiveness of the medieval cities of Tuscany, like Florence, Siena, and Pisa, but the distinctiveness and cultural legacies of the cities of Lazio often get drowned out in collective scholarly consciousness because of their geographic proximity to Rome. Despite the enormous political importance and rich artistic legacy of medieval Tivoli, since the 1920s there has been just one monograph published on the medieval city,⁴⁹⁴ and not once does it mention a painting, a fresco, or a sculpture. Nor does it mention a medieval architectural monument in any kind of artistic or interpretive sense. Instead of thinking of Lazio diametrically as Rome and the “hinterland,” we would be well served to think of medieval Lazio much as we do of medieval Tuscany: a network of individual urban centers connected by mutual political, military, economic, and artistic competition and exchange (after all, the communal senate that Rome achieved in the mid twelfth century may not have happened when it did if its rival Tivoli had not done so first, decades earlier).

This dissertation is fundamentally addressing underlying questions about the formation of urban culture and civic identity in late medieval Lazio. Institutional religion defined medieval life in many ways. Public liturgical processions brought that religion out of the church into the streets and piazzas—the very fabric of urban existence—and transformed it into a political, civic, and social experience that touched the entire community: men and women, rich and poor, cleric and layman. Without the participation of the community as a body the ritual would have no meaning. In no other circumstance did the people collectively perform their faith in such a corporeal and sensorial way. It was precisely the commonness and familiarity of the physical city—the stones and bricks and profane spaces—that temporarily transcendent in the ritual act

⁴⁹⁴ Carocci, *Tivoli nel basso medioevo*.

gave the procession its distinctive power. In Tivoli this power has endured. The supernatural gleam of the Savior's face. The blackness of the night sky. The sprinkle of lights in the river of bodies. The firm irregularity of the stones underfoot. The rush of river waters. The echo of chanting voices in the narrow lanes. Year after year. Century after century. Almost a millennium. The voices echo on.

APPENDIX A

CHAPTER CCXCVII OF THE TIVOLI CITY STATUTES OF 1305

De pena facientis rixam seu battaliam infrascriptis diebus sollempnis: Statuimus ut si quis fecerit rixam vel brigam seu battaliam cum aliquo, vel aliquem insultatus fuerit, videlicet in festo natalis Domini et in nocte eiusdem, in festo Marie de Augusto et in nocte eius, in de Pascatis, infra civitatem Tyburis, dum vadunt homines cum Salvatore per processiones vel ad letanias, et ubi congregati sunt homines ad funus alicuius, vel ad nuptias, vel ad parentelas, vel ad publica parlamenta, vel in ecclesiis dum celebrantur divina officia, et dum trahuntur homines ad extinguendum ignem intra civitatem, teneantur ad penam dupli; et omnes qui in eis aliquos offenderint, puniantur ad penam dupli statuti de offensa illa loquentis, pro medietate curie et pro alia medietate communi et accusatori (Tivoli, Archivio Comunale, Sezione Preunitarie, Statuto del 1305, n. 1 bis., f. 83v).

APPENDIX B

CHAPTER CLXXXV OF THE TIVOLI CITY STATUTES OF 1305

Statuimus quod nullus eat per civitatem Tyburis post tertium sonum campane sine licentia curie vel capudmilitie. Et qui contra fecerit, nisi haberet lumen, et cum uno lumine [...] igne possint ire tres persone, solvat pro banno curie sollidos provisinorum quinque, excepto quod tempore vindemiarum et messium inventus non teneatur ad penam, nisi esset persona male fame et levis vite, et salvo quod vecturales in faciendo et portando vinum et alias res et euntes et redeuntes extra civitatem et per civitatem pro evidenti necessitate, et qui inventi essent in nocte Natalis Domini et diei veneris sancti et in nocte sancte Marie de Augusto et beati Laurentii, vel qui inventus fuerit ante domum suam quam inhabitat et etiam ultra usque ad tres domos convicinas proximos sibi coniunctas ipsi domui, non teneatur ad penam (Tivoli, Archivio Comunale, Sezione Preunitarie, Statuto del 1305, n. 1 bis., ff. 37v-38r).

APPENDIX C

PROCESSIONAL ORDER GIVEN IN THE LATE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TIVOLI CITY STATUTES FOR THE PROFESSIONAL GUILDS IN THE *INCHINATA*

*Ordo dupplerior artium Civitatis Tybur euntium Tybur in fero Sancte Marie de Augusti & primo:
Dupplerium Ortulanorium, Dupplerium Vecturarium, Dupplerium Molendinariorum,
Dupplerium Carpentarium, Dupplerium Calzulariorum, Dupplerium Macellariorum,
Dupplerium Mercatorium, Dupplerium Fabrorum, Dupplerium Notariorum, Dupplerium
Bouateriorum* (published in 1522 as *Statuta et reformationes circa stilum civitatis Tyburtinae
incipit liber primus* II [Rome], 24r).

APPENDIX D

INSCRIPTION ON THE 1580 DEDICATORY PLAQUE IN THE CHAPEL OF THE SAVIOR TRIPTYCH IN THE CATHEDRAL OF SAN LORENZO, TIVOLI

Hoc in Sacello Salvatoris nostri effigies a B. Luca Evangelista depicta venerationi tam debita, q. devota custoditur. In eodemque Corpus B. Quirini servatur, cujus praeter caetera memoria cernitur in lapide in ingressu a dextris. Huc tamen Mulieribus ingredi nefas est nisi unico die dedicationis dumtaxat ejusdem. Quod a Gregorio Papa Nono consecratum existit. Anno a Sancta Deiparae Virginis partu M.CC.XXIII. XVII.K.LVI. Quod vero Fidelium devotio in dies augeatur, atque hoc omnibus innotescat Prior, & Confratres Societatis Salvatoris opus hoc ejusdem Confraternitatis aere faciendum curarunt circiter idus Januarias. An. Christiane salutis MD.LXXX.

APPENDIX E

GIOVANNI MARIA ZAPPI'S C. 1575 DESCRIPTION OF THE *INCHINATA* PROCESSION

Quando il S.mo Salvatore nostro Signore si leva la vigila della festa di Santa Maria di Agosto dalla chiesa di S. Lorenzo, li primi che sono a pigliarlo sono li signori Offitali et Magistrato della città fino alla piazza in la quale si fa una salva di archibugi et si tira innanti con la musica delli canonici et clero, con li altri religiosi, ove per molti luoghi della città si ritrovano delli apparati con fontane con alcun misterio di alcuna historia, cose vaghe a veder, et qualli tali che tengon cura di tali apparati et adornamenti sogliono tenere tazze piene di acqua rosa et altre acque odorifere in mano, li quali con un ramiscello di mirto o di rosmarino ne buttano nel viso di gentilhomini et gentil donne, questo non si fa per altro si non per costume antiquo, per credenza et amorevolezza: arrivato poi il S.mo Salvatore nostro in la chiesa di S. Giovanni Evangelista, avanti alla porta si posa fermamente alquanto, perhò un frate dell'ordine di S. Domenico parato con la cotta et stola il quale prende in mano un bacile con acqua rosa et lava li santi piedi ad esso S.mo Salvatore nostro, atto usato antiquamente, cerimonie fatte con bona fede et santa carità, ma non c'è homo della città che sappia donne causa tale cerimonia si non che dice l'uno a l'atro che sempre si è costumato antiquamente et cosi si costumerà sempre, et mentre si fa tale cerimonia li homini della compagnia del detto S. Giovanni si ritrovano con una infinità di torcie accese mentri passa esso S.mo Salvatore; si sequita poi la precessione la volta della chiesa di Francescho o vero la chiesa di S.ta Maria Maggiore, chiesa retta dalli r.di frati zoccolanti ove si suole posare il Salvatore; arrivato poi in la piazza di detta chiesa, la imagine della gloriosa madre vergine Maria si ritrova essere portata dalli falegnami, artigiani et muratori, homini destinati a prender cura di essa madre in simil casi et occorenze, allo ricontro del S.mo Salvatore per riceverlo in la sua santa chiesa; si inchinano la gloriosa madre, ma in quel atto si sentono le voci delli populi gridare ad alta voce: "misericordia, misericordia," di tal sorte gran strepito di voci che dà gran devotione et la gran multitudine de genti dell'uno et dell'altro sesso piangono veramente con grande devotione, atto de sì fatto caso de gran devotione, gli dico che si fussi un core di Nerone piagnerebe a vedere et sentire un misterio tale; dopo nel medemo tempo il Salvatore primo nello intrare di detta chiesa ove si vede poi la gloriosa madre posarsi in li luoghi solidi, la Madonna a man destra del Salvatore con una infinità di lumi accessi, le quali imagine si guardano tutta la notte et sonno di continuo visitate esse sante imagini da homini et donne, vidue, zitelle; la matina si ritrova poi il giorno della S.ma festa della Madonna si canta la solendissima et santa messa con la musica delli canonici del domo, con tutti li lumi delli talami accesi; fenita poi la messa essi talami si cavan fora della chiesa la volta di S. Lorenzo, domo della città, et le genti, a mano a mano nel medemo ordine, riescono fora similmente con il S.mo Salvatore nostro

et con la gloriosa Vergine Maria et si fa il simile atto di riverenza l'uno a l'altro con il gridare similmente "misericordia."

Tutto il populo, dopo fatto questo atto, tirano innanti la volta della sua cappella in la detta chiesa di S. Lorenzo ove si ritrovano gran multitudine di torcie accese, fatto ala sì a man destra come a man stancha ove si ritrovano gran multitudine sì della città come anchi delli castelli et gerre d'intorno et anchi della città di Roma che la notte avanti non si sentono sì non cocchi et carrozze per vedere quesà santa precessione, dico homini, donne et putti li quali restano con gran satisfatione et contento (*Zappi Annali e memorie di Tivoli*, ed. Vincenzo Pacifici [Tivoli: Società tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte, 1920], 5-6).

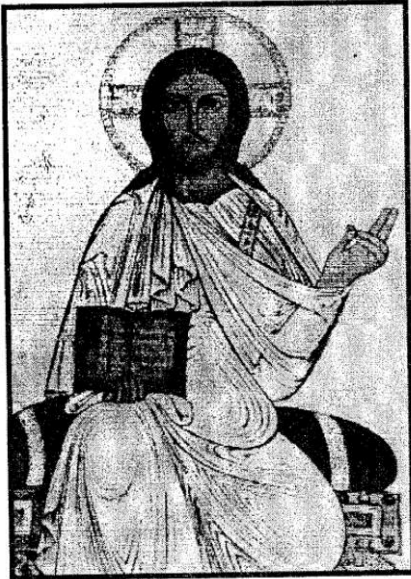
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APPENDIX F

TEXT OF THE *INCHINATA* LITURGY AS PERFORMED ON AUGUST 14, 2009

Diocesi di Tivoli

L'incontro del Cristo Risorto con Maria Sua Madre



FESTA DELL'INCHINATA

PROCESSIONE CITTADINA
DALLA CHIESA CATTEDRALE DI TIVOLI
A PIAZZA TRENTO
PRESIEDUTA DAL NOSTRO VESCOVO

S. E. Mons. MAURO PARMEGGIANI

La celebrazione vigilare

I. Riti iniziali (in Cattedrale)

CANTO: DAVANTI AL RE

Davanti al Re c'inchiniamo insiem
per adorarlo con tutto il cuor.
Verso di Lui eleviamo insiem
canti di gloria al nostro Re dei Re.

INVITO ALLA LODE

Il Vescovo invita l'assemblea alla benedizione e alla lode.

V. Benedetto sia Dio, Padre del Signore nostro Gesù Cristo,
che in Cristo ci ha scelti prima della creazione del mondo.

R. Benedetto nei secoli il Signore.

V. Benedetto il suo Figlio diletto Gesù Cristo,
nato dalla Vergine Maria, vita e risurrezione nostra.

R. Benedetto nei secoli il Signore.

V. Benedetto lo Spirito Santo Consolatore
che ha fecondato la Vergine Madre
e l'ha vivificata nella sua gloriosa assunzione.

R. Benedetto nei secoli il Signore.

V. La benedizione del Padre misericordioso,
del Figlio suo risorto e dello Spirito santificatore sia con tutti voi.

R. E con il tuo spirito.

MONIZIONE

Un lettore introduce alla celebrazione con queste parole:

Nella Pasqua dell'estate, Pasqua di Santa Maria, Madre di Dio,
celebriamo con luci e canti di gioia il disegno di amore del Padre per il
suo Figlio Gesù Cristo.

Dio Padre ha voluto che il suo Primogenito non conoscesse la morte e la
corruzione e nel sepolcro vuoto ha piantato un roseto di vita.

Per amore dell'Unigenito, nello Spirito Santo, ha voluto che la Beata Vergine Maria fosse assunta nel cielo dei cieli quale primo fiore del roseto per essere pienamente conforme al Figlio Gesù.
In questa notte contempleremo nel volto della Madre del Signore, nella Sua immagine che veneriamo nella chiesa di S.Maria Maggiore, la luce della risurrezione del Figlio e nello Spirito del Signore Gesù scorgeremo in Maria, terra della nostra terra, ormai glorificata nel corpo e nell'anima, l'immagine e l'inizio di noi Chiesa di Dio.
Cammineremo oranti in comunione con Lei che brilla per noi pellegrini sulla terra quale segno di sicura speranza e consolazione.

ORAZIONE

Diacono: Preghiamo in pace il Signore
(e tutti si raccolgono in silenziosa preghiera)

Vescovo:

Padre amico degli uomini e amante della vita,
la luce della risurrezione del tuo Unigenito
risplende nell'assunzione di sua Madre, sempre Vergine:
dona alla tua Chiesa pellegrina nel tempo,
di saper scorgere nel volto di Santa Maria il suo futuro,
perché rinnovata nella speranza che non delude,
cammini ininterrottamente nei sentieri della vita,
per giungere alla piena glorificazione dei figli di Dio
nell'ultimo giorno.
Per Cristo nostro Signore.

Assemblea: Amen

PROCLAMAZIONE DEL VANGELO

Quindi, mentre i fedeli innalzano le lampade, si proclama il Vangelo secondo la consuetudine. Incensazione dell'Evangeliario e dell'icona del Risorto. Si accendono le luci della chiesa.

Mentre viene gettata la fiaccola nel fiume:

Tu o Signore sei il Vivente, ieri e oggi il principio e la fine.
A te appartengono il tempo e i secoli, a te la gloria e il potere.
La luce del Cristo che risorge glorioso
disperda le tenebre del cuore e dello spirito.

Prosegue la Processione.

CANTO: IL SIGNORE E' LA MIA LUCE!

Il Signore è la luce che vince la notte!

Rit. Gloria, gloria, cantiamo il Signore! (2 volte)

Il Signore è l'amore che vince il peccato! **Rit.**

Il Signore è la gioia che vince l'angoscia! **Rit.**

Il Signore è la pace che vince la guerra! **Rit.**

Il Signore è speranza di un nuovo futuro! **Rit.**

Il Signore è la vita che vince la morte!

INTERCESSIONE

Preghiamo Dio Padre che ha cura di tutte le creature e diciamo con umiltà sincera: Abbi pietà del tuo popolo, Signore

Tutti: Abbi pietà del tuo popolo, Signore

Custodisci la tua Chiesa. **Rit.**

Proteggi il nostro Papa Benedetto **Rit.**

Assisti il nostro vescovo Mauro **Rit.**

Salva il tuo popolo **Rit.**

Conservaci la pace **Rit.**

Abbi pietà del cristiano che dubita **Rit.**

Aiuta l'incredulo che dubita **Rit.**

+ Dal Vangelo secondo Matteo

Mt 28,1-10

Dopo il sabato, all'alba del primo giorno della settimana, Maria di Magdala e l'altra Maria andarono a visitare la tomba. Ed ecco, vi fu un gran terremoto. Un angelo del Signore, infatti, sceso dal cielo, si avvicinò, rotolò la pietra e si pose a sedere su di essa. Il suo aspetto era come folgore e il suo vestito bianco come neve. Per lo spavento che ebbero di lui, le guardie furono scosse e rimasero come morte. L'angelo disse alle donne: «Voi non abbiate paura! So che cercate Gesù, il crocifisso. Non è qui. È risorto, infatti, come aveva detto; venite, guardate il luogo dove era stato deposto. Presto, andate a dire ai suoi discepoli: È risorto dai morti, ed ecco vi precede in Galilea; là lo vedrete. Ecco, io ve l'ho detto». Abbandonato in fretta il sepolcro con timore e gioia grande, le donne corsero a dare l'annuncio ai suoi discepoli. Ed ecco, Gesù venne loro incontro e disse: «Salute a voi!». Ed esse si avvicinarono, gli abbracciarono i piedi e lo adorarono. Allora Gesù disse loro: «Non temete; andate ad annunciare ai miei fratelli che vadano in Galilea: là mi vedranno».
Parola del Signore.

Assemblea: Lode a te, o Cristo.

RIT. Ci sia pace tra le tue mura e abbondanza nella tua città.

Vescovo:

Signore, dona la pace ai nostri giorni, noi speriamo in te: tu sei il nostro aiuto, il nostro unico Dio. **RIT.**

Vescovo:

Tuo è il regno, tua è la potenza, e la gloria nei secoli.
Donaci oggi la pace. **RIT.**

Vescovo:

Salvatore nostro, hai redento il mondo con la tua croce, volgiti a noi e donaci la pace. **RIT.**

Illumina i legislatori ed i governanti **Rit.**

Soccorri i poveri **Rit.**

Consola gli afflitti **Rit.**

Difendi gli orfani e le vedove **Rit.**

CANTO: IL TUO POPOLO IN CAMMINO

**Rit. Il tuo popolo in cammino cerca in te la guida.
Sulla strada verso il Regno sei sostegno col tuo corpo:
resta sempre con noi, o Signore!**

E' il tuo pane, Gesù, che ci dà forza
e rende più sicuro il nostro passo.
Se il vigore nel cammino si svelle,
la tua mano dona lieta la speranza. **RIT**

E' il tuo vino, Gesù, che ci disseta
e sveglia in noi l'ardore di seguirti.
Se la gioia cede il passo alla stanchezza,
la tua voce fa rinascere freschezza. **RIT**

E' il tuo corpo, Gesù, che ci fa Chiesa
fratelli sulle strade della vita.
Se il rancore toglie luce all'amicizia,
dal tuo cuore nasce giovane il perdono. **RIT**

E' il tuo sangue, Gesù, il segno eterno
dell'unico linguaggio dell'amore.
Se il donarsi come Te richiede fede,
nel tuo spirito sfidiamo l'incertezza. **RIT**

E' il tuo dono, Gesù, la vera fonte
Del gesto coraggioso di chi annuncia.
Se la Chiesa non è aperta ad ogni uomo,
il tuo fuoco le rivela la missione. **RIT**

Vescovo:

PREGHIAMO.

O Dio onnipotente ed eterno,
che per dare agli uomini un esempio di umiltà
hai voluto che il tuo unico figlio si facesse uomo
e subisse il supplizio della Croce per la nostra salvezza,
concedici che per mezzo della Sua umiliazione
meritiamo la gloria della risurrezione.
Per Cristo nostro Signore.

Assemblea: AMEN!

Il Diacono:

Andiamo, fratelli e sorelle carissimi, ad annunciare la risurrezione di
Cristo. Avviamoci in pace.

Assemblea: Nel nome di Cristo. Amen.

Si avvia la Processione.

Lettore:

Nel cuore dell'estate, questa notte siamo chiamati a vegliare in
preghiera per celebrare la Pasqua del Signore che porta i suoi frutti nella
Vergine Maria, madre di Cristo e della Chiesa, prima discepola del
Signore.

Maria ai piedi della croce è profondamente unita al sacrificio di Gesù.
Lei, Vergine Immacolata che lo ha generato e partorito come vero
uomo, per prima partecipa alla gloria della Resurrezione che sgorga dal
combattimento e dalla vittoria di Cristo sul peccato e la morte.
Quello che celebriamo in Maria, si compirà per ogni vero discepolo del
Signore nel giorno del giudizio universale quando il Signore tornerà alla
fine dei tempi per giudicare i vivi e i morti.

Tu o Cristo, hai spezzato i vincoli della morte e risorgi vincitore dal
sepolcro.

Tutti: Gloria a Te o Signore!

Nella notte della Pasqua Tu sconfiggi il male, lavi le colpe, restituisci
l'innocenza ai peccatori, la gioia agli afflitti.

Tutti: Gloria a Te o Signore!

Liberaci o Signore dall'odio e dalla violenza, piega la durezza dei
potenti, promuovi la concordia e la pace.

Tutti: Gloria a Te o Signore!

O immensità del tuo amore per noi! O inestimabile segno di bontà: Tu o
Cristo, spezzando i vincoli della morte, risorgi vincitore dal sepolcro.

Tutti: Gloria a Te o Signore!

Tu o Cristo, risorto dai morti fa risplendere sugli uomini del mondo
intero la luce eterna del tuo amore.

Tutti: Gloria a Te o Signore!

CANTO: RESTA CON NOI SIGNORE, LA SERA.

Resta con noi, Signore, la sera, resta con noi, avremo la pace.

Rit: Resta con noi, non ci lasciar, la notte mai più scenderà.
Resta con noi, non ci lasciar,
per le vie del mondo, Signor.

Ti porteremo ai nostri fratelli, ti porteremo lungo le strade. **RIT.**

Voglio donarti questi mie mani, voglio donarti questo mio cuore. **RIT.**

Fammi sentire l'ansia dei cuori, fammi amare chi non mi ama. **RIT.**

II. PROCESSIONE

CANTO: CRISTO VINCE!

Rit.: Cristo vince, Cristo regna, Cristo, Cristo impera.

Popoli tutti lodate il Signore, esaltatelo o genti! **Rit.**

Perché forte è il Suo amore per noi, la fedeltà del Signore è per sempre. **Rit.**

Gloria al Padre, al Figlio e allo Spirito Santo,
come era nel principio ore e sempre nei secoli dei secoli, Amen. **Rit.**

INVOCAZIONI

Con il coro degli Angeli e dei Santi proclamiamo il trionfo del Signore
risorto.

Tutti: Gloria a Te o Signore!

La luce di Cristo risorto ha vinto le tenebre del mondo.

Tutti: Gloria a Te o Signore!

Con il sangue sparso sulla Croce hai cancellato la condanna della colpa
antica.

Tutti: Gloria a Te o Signore!

Tu sei il vero agnello che con il tuo sangue consacri le case dei fedeli.

Tutti: Gloria a Te o Signore!

In questa notte Tu salvi i credenti dall'oscurità del peccato e dalla
corruzione del mondo, li consacri all'amore del Padre, e li unisci alla
comunione dei Santi.

Tutti: Gloria a Te o Signore!

LETTURA

Dal libro dell'Apocalisse di San Giovanni apostolo 1,4-8

Grazia a voi e pace da Colui che è, che era e che viene, e dai sette spiriti
che stanno davanti al suo trono, e da Gesù Cristo, il testimone fedele, il
primogenito dei morti, il sovrano dei re della terra.

A Colui che ci ama e ci ha liberati dai nostri peccati con il suo sangue,
che ha fatto di noi un regno, sacerdoti per il suo Dio e Padre, a Lui la
gloria e la potenza nei secoli dei secoli. Amen.

Ecco, viene con le nubi e ogni occhio lo vedrà, anche quelli che lo
trafissero, e per lui tutte le tribù della terra si batteranno il petto.

Sì, Amen!

Dice il Signore Dio: Io sono l'Alfa e l'Omega, Colui che è, che era e
che viene, l'Onnipotente!

Parola di Dio.

Tutti: Rendiamo grazie a Dio.

CANTO: CANTO PER CRISTO!

Canto per Cristo che mi libererà quando verrà nella gloria,
quando la vita con Lui rinascerà, alleluia, alleluia!

Rit. Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia!

Canto per Cristo, in Lui rifiorirà ogni speranza perduta,
ogni creatura con lui risorgerà, alleluia, alleluia! **Rit.**

Canto per Cristo: un giorno tornerà! Festa per tutti gli amici,
festa di un mondo che più non morirà, alleluia, alleluia! **Rit.**

INTERCESSIONI

Cristo Salvatore, amico degli uomini,

Tutti: Sia Gloria a te!

Cristo Salvatore, Dio potente e misericordioso,

Tutti: Sia Gloria a te!

Cristo Salvatore, venuto per salvare le nostre anime,

Tutti: Sia Gloria a te!
 Cristo Salvatore, fatto carne nel seno della Vergine,
Tutti: Sia Gloria a te!
 Cristo Salvatore, legato e flagellato per la nostra salvezza,
Tutti: Sia Gloria a te!
 Cristo Salvatore, schernito e inchiodato sulla croce,
Tutti: Sia Gloria a te!
 Cristo Salvatore, seppellito risuscitato e asceso al cielo,
Tutti: Sia Gloria a te!

CANTO: CREDO IN TE SIGNORE!

Credo in te, Signor, credo in te:
 Grande è quaggiù il mister, ma credo in te.
Rit. Luce soave, gioia perfetta sei.
 Credo in te, Signor, credo in te.
 Spero in te, Signor, spero in te:
 debole sono ognor, ma spero in te. **Rit.**
 Amo te, Signor, amo te:
 o crocifisso Amor, amo te. **Rit.**
 Resta con me, Signor, resta con me:
 pane che dai vigor, resta con me. **Rit.**

AL PONTE GREGORIANO

Al ponte Gregoriano vengono benedette le acque del fiume Aniene e viene gettata una fiaccola accesa tra le acque per indicare la Luce del Cristo che disperde le tenebre della morte e ci protegge da ogni male (era questo il luogo delle inondazioni e della difesa della città dagli eserciti che provenivano dalla zona dell'Abruzzo, e della preghiera per il Papa, verso Roma).

Giunti al ponte Gregoriano la macchina sosterrà nel suo mezzo, volta verso la via d'Abruzzo

RIT. Ci sia pace tra le tue mura e abbondanza nella tua città.

Vescovo:
 Signore, dona la pace ai nostri giorni, noi speriamo in te:
 tu sei il nostro aiuto, il nostro unico Dio. **RIT.**

Vescovo:
 Tua è la potenza, Tuo è il regno, Signore.
 Il Tuo dominio si estende a tutte le creature.
 Signore, dona la pace ai nostri giorni. **RIT.**

Vescovo:
 Salvatore nostro, che per mezzo del tuo Sangue
 e della tua Croce hai redento il mondo, salvaci. **RIT.**

Vescovo:
PREGHIAMO.
 O Dio onnipotente ed eterno,
 che per dare agli uomini un esempio di umiltà
 hai voluto che il tuo unico Figlio si facesse uomo
 e subisse il supplizio della Croce per la nostra salvezza,
 concedici che per mezzo della Sua umiliazione
 meritiamo la gloria della risurrezione.
 Per Cristo nostro Signore.
Tutti: Amen.

Il Vescovo incensa la sacra immagine del Ss.mo Salvatore e poi volgendosi verso il tempio della Sibilla e Roma, dice:

Salvatore nostro, che per mezzo del tuo Sangue
 e della tua Croce hai redento il mondo, salvaci.

Poi verso Tivoli il Vescovo prosegue:
 Signore, dona la pace ai nostri giorni, noi speriamo in te:
 tu sei il nostro aiuto, il nostro unico Dio.

Poi rivolto verso il fiume, il Vescovo:
 Degnati di liberare questa città dalla violenza delle acque del fiume. Noi ti supplichiamo: ascoltaci!

DAVANTI ALLA CASA DEL PRIORE

L'immagine del Salvatore si ferma per ricordare di quanti ci hanno preceduto nel cammino della fede.

Vescovo:
 Preghiamo.
 O Dio, fonte di perdono e di salvezza,
 per l'intercessione della Vergine Maria e di tutti i Santi
 concedi a quanti ci hanno preceduto nel cammino della fede
 di partecipare pienamente alla gloria
 che il Cristo crocifisso e risorto
 darà a quelli che attendono con amore il giorno della sua venuta, alla fine dei tempi. Per Cristo nostro Signore.
Tutti: Amen.

CANTO: QUANTA SETE NEL MIO CUORE!

Quanta sete nel mio cuore, solo in Dio si spegnerà.
 Quanta attesa di salvezza, solo in Dio si sazierà.
 L'acqua viva ch'Egli dà sempre fresca sgorgherà.

RIT: Il Signore è la mia vita, il Signore è la mia gioia.

Se la strada si fa scura, spero in Lui: mi guiderà.
 Se l'angoscia mi tormenta, spero in Lui: mi salverà.
 Non si scorda mai di me, presto a me riapparirà. **Rit.**

Nel mattino io Ti invoco; Tu, mio Dio, risponderai.
 Nella sera rendo grazie e Tu sempre ascolterai.
 Al Tuo monte salirò. E vicino ti vedrò. **Rit.**

INVOCAZIONI

Per liberarci dalla schiavitù del peccato il Signore Gesù si è rivestito della nostra debolezza.

Tutti: Abbi pietà di noi, Signore.

Non ha apparenza né bellezza per attirare i nostri sguardi; non splendore per potercene compiacere.

Tutti: Abbi pietà di noi, Signore.

Disprezzato e reietto dagli uomini, uomo dei dolori che ben conosce il patire, come uno davanti al quale ci si copre la faccia, era disprezzato e non ne avevamo alcuna stima.

Tutti: Abbi pietà di noi, Signore.

Egli si è caricato delle nostre sofferenze, si è addossato i nostri dolori e noi lo giudicavamo castigato, percosso da Dio e umiliato.

Tutti: Abbi pietà di noi, Signore.

Egli è stato trafitto per i nostri delitti, schiacciato per le nostre iniquità. Il castigo che ci dà salvezza si è abbattuto su di Lui; per le sue piaghe noi siamo stati guariti.

Tutti: Abbi pietà di noi, Signore.

Noi tutti eravamo sperduti come un gregge, ognuno di noi seguiva la sua strada; il Signore fece ricadere su di Lui l'iniquità di noi tutti.

Tutti: Abbi pietà di noi, Signore.

Maltrattato si lasciò umiliare e non aprì la sua bocca; era come agnello condotto al macello, come pecora muta di fronte ai suoi tosatori, e non aprì la sua bocca.

Tutti: Abbi pietà di noi, Signore.

CANTO: NOI CREDIAMO IN TE!

Noi crediamo in te, o Signor, Noi speriamo in te, o Signor,
 Noi amiamo te, o Signor, tu ci ascolti, o Signor.

Sei con noi, Signor, sei con noi: nella gioia tu sei con noi,
 nel dolore tu sei con noi, tu per sempre sei con noi.

C'è chi prega Signor: vieni a noi. C'è chi soffre, Signor: vieni a noi.
 C'è chi spera Signor: vieni a noi. O Signore, vieni a noi.

LETTURA

Dal libro del profeta Isaia 53,5-6

Egli (il servo di Jahvè) è stato trafitto per le nostre colpe, schiacciato per le nostre iniquità. Il castigo che ci dà salvezza si è abbattuto su di lui; per le sue piaghe noi siamo stati guariti. Noi tutti eravamo sperduti come un gregge, ognuno di noi seguiva la sua strada; il Signore fece ricadere su di lui l'iniquità di noi tutti.

CANTO: DIO SI E' FATTO COME NOI.

Dio si è fatto come noi, per farci come lui.

Rit.: Vieni, Gesù, resta con noi, resta con noi !

Viene dal grembo di una donna, la Vergine Maria. **Rit.**

Tutta la storia lo aspettava: il nostro Salvatore. **Rit.**

Egli ci ha dato la sua vita, insieme a questo pane. **Rit.**

Noi, che mangiamo questo pane, saremo tutti amici. **Rit.**

Noi, che crediamo nel suo amore, vedremo la sua gloria. **Rit.**

Viene, Signore, in mezzo a noi: resta con noi per sempre. **Rit.**

INVOCAZIONI

Lettore: Preghiamo insieme: Signore, insegnaci a pregare.

Tutti: **Signore, insegnaci a pregare.**

Perché siamo perseveranti nella fede. Preghiamo:

Tutti: **Signore, insegnaci a pregare.**

Perché conserviamo in noi la tua grazia. Preghiamo.

Tutti: **Signore, insegnaci a pregare.**

Perché non cediamo alle tentazione del male. Preghiamo

Tutti: **Signore, insegnaci a pregare.**

Per ottenere la pace del cuore. Preghiamo

Tutti: **Signore, insegnaci a pregare.**

Per non cadere nello sconforto. Preghiamo

Tutti: **Signore, insegnaci a pregare.**

Per ottenere il perdono dei peccati. Preghiamo.

Tutti: **Signore, insegnaci a pregare.**

Per poter vivere da veri cristiani nella libertà dei figli di Dio,
Preghiamo:

Tutti: **Signore, insegnaci a pregare.**

Per ottenere l'abbondanza dello Spirito. Preghiamo

Tutti: **Signore, insegnaci a pregare.**

Per la diffusione del Regno di Dio. Preghiamo

Tutti: **Signore, insegnaci a pregare.**

NOI CANTEREMO GLORIA A TE

Noi canteremo gloria a Te, Padre che dai la vita,
Dio di immensa carità, Trinità infinita.

Tutto il creato vive in Te, segno della Tua Gloria
tutta la storia Ti darà onore e vittoria.

La Tua parola venne a noi; annuncio del Tuo dono:
la Tua promessa porterà salvezza e perdono.

Dio si è fatto come noi, è nato da Maria:
Egli nel mondo ormai sarà verità, vita e via.

Cristo è apparso in mezzo a noi, Dio ci ha visitato:
tutta la terra adorerà quel Bimbo che ci è nato.

Cristo il Padre rivelò, per noi aprì il Suo cielo:
Egli un giorno tornerà glorioso nel Suo Regno.

Manda Signore, in mezzo a noi, manda il Consolatore:
lo Spirito di Santità, Spirito d'amore.

Vieni, Signore, in mezzo ai Tuoi, vieni nella Tua casa:
dona la pace e l'unità, raduna la Tua Chiesa.

All'ingresso dell'ospedale, un lettore proclama:

Per coloro che soffrono nel corpo e stanno in un letto d'ospedale a causa
della malattia, preghiamo il Cristo Signore:

Tutti: **Signore, ascolta, abbi pietà di noi.**

La Banda eseguirà un canto o un brano musicale.

Giunti all'Ospedale, la macchina si collocherà di fronte alla porta. Il capo dei portatori toglierà il mazzo di fiori collocato dinanzi alla macchina per consegnarlo al Priore. Questi giungerà fino alla soglia dell'Ospedale procedendo tra le file dei confratelli, s'inginocchierà sul primo gradino e, dopo aver intonato il Pater Noster, bacerà la soglia del dolore. Consegnerà i fiori al Priore dell'Ospedale.

Quindi, il Cappellano dell'Ospedale giunto alla macchina, dirà:

Signore, dona la pace ai nostri giorni, noi speriamo in Te:

Tu sei il nostro aiuto, il nostro unico Dio.

Per possedere la felicità eterna. Preghiamo

Tutti: **Signore, insegnaci a pregare.**

O Dio, Padre misericordioso,

manda il tuo Spirito in aiuto alla nostra debolezza, perché ci animi della
sua vita, faccia salire dal nostro cuore a te la vera preghiera filiale e
trasformi tutte le nostre opere in altri tanti atti di adorazione e di amore.
Te lo chiediamo per Cristo tuo Figlio e nostro Signore. Amen.

CANTO: SIGNORE SEI TU IL MIO PASTORE

**Rit.: Signore, sei tu il mio Pastor,
nulla mi può mancar nei tuoi pascoli.**

Tra l'erbe verdeggianti mi guidi a riposar,
all'acque tue tranquille mi fai dissetar. **Rit.**

Se in valle tutta oscura io camminar dovrò,
vicino a Te, Signore, più nulla temerò. **Rit.**

Per me hai preparato il pane tuo immortale;
il calice m'hai colmo di vino celestiale. **Rit.**

La luce e la tua grazia mi guideranno ognor:
da Te m'introdurranno per sempre, o mio Signor. **Rit.**

ALL'OSPEDALE

La sosta all'Ospedale ricorda che il Signore ci ha liberato dal peccato prendendo su di sé, sulla Croce, tutto il male del mondo, e ci chiama ogni giorno a rendere presente vicino a chi soffre la testimonianza del suo Amore.

Poi laverà i piedi della effigie del Cristo con il mazzo di aromi immerso nell'acqua di rose e dirà:

O Dio, da cui provengono i santi desideri,
i giusti consigli e le buone opere,
elargiscisi ai tuoi servi quella pace che il mondo non può dare:
fa' che i nostri cuori seguano il tuo volere
e, liberi dall'oppressione della colpa,
sotto la tua protezione possiamo godere giorni tranquilli.
Per Cristo nostro Signore.
Tutti: **Amen.**

Quindi il Cappellano incenserà il Ss.mo Salvatore.

Mentre il Vescovo farà visita ai malati, attorno al Cristo Salvatore continua la preghiera (si può pregare anche con il Rosario).

Lettore:

In questo luogo del dolore siamo chiamati a riscoprire che il Signore
Gesù si è spogliato delle Sue vesti per lavare i piedi dei suoi discepoli
come uno schiavo. Dio si è fatto servo per rivestirci di quella dignità
filiale che noi avevamo perduto con il peccato. Siamo chiamati a
riscoprire la Sua vicinanza ad ogni uomo, ad ogni persona riconoscendo
che il comandamento da Lui ricevuto è quello di amarci gli uni gli altri
come Lui ci ha amato. Gesù ci ricorda che quello che facciamo al più
piccolo dei nostri fratelli è fatto a Lui direttamente e ne riceveremo
ricompensa nel giorno del giudizio, alla fine dei tempi.

CANTO: DOV' E' CARITA' E AMORE

Rit. Dov'è carità e amore qui c'è Dio

Ci ha riuniti tutti insieme Cristo amore:
godiamo esultanti nel Signore!

Temiamo e amiamo il Dio vivente,
e amiamoci tra noi con cuore sincero.

Noi formiamo, qui riuniti un solo corpo,

evitiamo di dividerci tra noi:

via le lotte maligne, via le liti!

E regni in mezzo a noi Cristo Dio.

LETTURA

Dalla lettera di San Paolo apostolo ai Filippesi 2,6-11

Cristo Gesù, pur essendo nella condizione di Dio, non ritenne un privilegio l'essere come Dio, ma svuotò se stesso assumendo una condizione di servo, diventando simile agli uomini. Dall'aspetto riconosciuto come uomo, umiliò se stesso facendosi obbediente fino alla morte e a una morte di croce.

Per questo Dio lo esaltò e gli donò il nome che è al di sopra di ogni nome, perché nel nome di Gesù ogni ginocchio si pieghi nei cieli, sulla terra e sotto terra, e ogni lingua proclami: Gesù Cristo è Signore, a Gloria di Dio Padre.

CANTO: DOV' E' CARITA' E AMORE

Rit. Dov'è carità e amore qui c'è Dio

Chi non ama resta sempre nella notte
e dall'ombra della notte non risorge:
ma se noi camminiamo nell'amore,
saremo veri figli della luce.

Nell'amore di Colui che ci ha salvati,
rinnovati dallo spirito del Padre;
tutti uniti sentiamoci fratelli
E la gloria diffondiamo sulla terra.

LETTURA

Dal vangelo secondo Giovanni 13,12-15,34

In quel tempo, quando Gesù ebbe lavato i piedi agli apostoli, riprese le vesti, sedette di nuovo e disse loro: "capite quello che ho fatto per voi? Voi mi chiamate Signore e il Maestro, e dite bene, perché lo sono. Se dunque io, il Signore e il Maestro, ho lavato i piedi a voi, anche voi dovete lavare i piedi gli uni agli altri. Vi ho dato un esempio, infatti, perché anche voi facciate come io ho fatto a voi.

Vi do un comandamento nuovo: che vi amiate gli uni gli altri. Come io ho amato voi, così amatevi anche voi gli uni gli altri.

O Dio, Padre misericordioso, che sei il consolatore di tutte le afflizioni, noi ti supplichiamo per tutti gli ammalati: sii loro vicino e dona loro il conforto e la salute. Noi ti preghiamo:

Tutti: Signore, benedici i malati e i sofferenti.

O Signore, non permettere che gli ammalati cadano nell'abbattimento e nella ribellione, ma concedi loro la forza di accettare cristianamente la loro sofferenza, unendola all'immolazione del tuo figlio, che continuamente si rinnova sui nostri altari. Noi ti preghiamo:

Tutti: Signore, benedici i malati e i sofferenti.

O Gesù, che hai detto: "venite a me, voi tutti che siete afflitti, e io vi darò sollievo", fa che i nostri ammalati ti sentano accanto al loro letto di dolore come amico e fratello che porta loro pace, fiducia e speranza. Noi ti preghiamo:

Tutti: Signore, benedici i malati e i sofferenti.

Per coloro che sono rinchiusi nella debolezza umana, negli smarrimenti dello spirito o in molteplici errori del mondo. Noi ti preghiamo:

Tutti: Signore, benedici i malati e i sofferenti.

Per coloro che soffrono nel corpo e stanno in un letto d'ospedale a causa della malattia. Noi ti preghiamo:

Tutti: Signore, benedici i malati e i sofferenti.

CANTO: TI RINGRAZIO O MIO SIGNORE

Ti ringrazio, o mio Signore, per le cose che sono nel mondo,
per la vita che Tu mi hai donato, per l'amore che Tu nutri per me.
Alleluia, o mio Signore! Alleluia, o Dio del cielo!

Come il pane che abbiamo spezzato era sparso in grano sui colli,
così unisci noi, sparsi nel mondo in un corpo che sia solo per Te.

Quell'amore che unisce Te al Padre sia la forza che unisce i fratelli.
Ed il mondo conosca la pace: la Tua gioia regni sempre tra noi.

CANTO: DOV' E' CARITA' E AMORE

Rit. Dov'è carità e amore qui c'è Dio

Imploriamo con fiducia il Padre Santo,
perché doni ai nostri giorni la sua pace:
ogni popolo dimentichi i rancori
ed il mondo si rinnovi nell'amore.
Fa' che un giorno contempiamo il Tuo volto
nella gloria dei beati, Cristo Dio,
e sarà gioia immensa, gioia vera:
Durerà per tutti i secoli, senza fine!

LETTURA

Dal Vangelo secondo Matteo 25,31-40

In quel tempo, Gesù disse ai suoi discepoli: "Quando il Figlio dell'uomo verrà nella sua gloria, e tutti gli angeli con lui, siederà sul trono della sua gloria. Davanti a lui verranno radunati tutti i popoli. Egli separerà gli uni dagli altri, come il pastore separa le pecore dalle capre, e porrà le pecore alla sua destra e le capre alla sinistra. Allora il Re dirà a quelli che saranno alla sua destra: venite, benedetti del Padre mio, ricevete in eredità il Regno preparato per voi fin dalla creazione del mondo, perché ho avuto fame e mi avete dato da mangiare, ho avuto sete e mi avete dato da bere, ero straniero e mi avete accolto, nudo e mi avete vestito, malato e mi avete visitato, ero in carcere e siete venuti a trovarmi. Allora i giusti gli risponderanno: Signore quando ti abbiamo visto affamato e ti abbiamo dato da mangiare, o assetato e ti abbiamo dato da bere? Quando mai ti abbiamo visto straniero e ti abbiamo accolto, o nudo e ti abbiamo vestito? Quando mai ti abbiamo visto malato o in carcere e siamo venuti a visitarti? Il Re risponderà loro: in verità vi dico: tutto quello che avete fatto a uno solo di questi miei fratelli più piccoli, l'avete fatto a me.

INVOCAZIONI

Letture: Preghiamo insieme: Signore, benedici i malati e i sofferenti.

Tutti: Signore, benedici i malati e i sofferenti.

VERSO LA CHIESA DI S. ANNA

CANTO: RESTA CON NOI SIGNORE, LA SERA.

Resta con noi, Signore, la sera, resta con noi, avremo la pace.

Rit: Resta con noi, non ci lasciar, la notte mai più scenderà.
Resta con noi, non ci lasciar, per le vie del mondo, Signor.
Ti porteremo ai nostri fratelli, ti porteremo lungo le strade.

RIT.

Voglio donarti questi mie mani, voglio donarti questo mio cuore.

RIT.

Fammi sentire l'ansia dei cuori, fammi amare chi non mi ama.

RIT.

INVOCAZIONI

Letture: Preghiamo insieme: Signore, ascoltaci, abbi pietà di noi.

Tutti: Signore, ascoltaci, abbi pietà di noi.

Con animo fedele, preghiamo il Padre del Figlio unico, e figlio del Dio eterno, lo Spirito Santo. Preghiamo il Cristo Signore:

Tutti: Signore, ascoltaci, abbi pietà di noi.

Per la Chiesa santa di Dio, sparsa nel mondo, domandiamo la piena ricchezza della bontà divina. Preghiamo il Cristo Signore:

Tutti: Signore, ascoltaci, abbi pietà di noi.

Per i sacerdoti, ministri dell'altare, per tutti i popoli che adorano il vero Dio. Preghiamo il Cristo Signore:

Tutti: Signore, ascoltaci, abbi pietà di noi.

Per tutti coloro che sono dispensatori della parola di verità, domandiamo la sapienza del Verbo di Dio. Preghiamo il Cristo Signore:

Tutti: Signore, ascoltaci, abbi pietà di noi.

Per coloro che mortificano l'anima e il corpo in vista del regno dei cieli e si consacrano alle opere spirituali, Preghiamo il Cristo Signore:

Tutti: Signore, ascoltaci, abbi pietà di noi.

Volgendosi vero la Rettoria di S. Anna, sede un tempo di un Monastero di Clarisse, il Vescovo rivolge al Signore la seguente preghiera, per chiedere il dono delle vocazioni:

O Padre, provvedi alla tua Chiesa gli operai del Vangelo effondi, in una rinnovata Pentecoste il tuo Spirito di piet  e di forza perch  susciti ancora oggi nel tuo popolo degni ministri dell'altare, annunziatori forti e miti della Parola che ci salva. Per Cristo nostro Signore.

VERSO LA CHIESA DI SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE

Oggi la vergine Maria è accolta nei cieli,
oggi spunta l'aurora della Chiesa,
oggi è ridata la speranza al popolo che camminava incontro al Padre,
oggi Cristo riveste di gloria e di immortalità,
il corpo di Colei che gli ha plasmato un corpo mortale.

Il Signore che rovescia i potenti dai troni,
fa sedere alla tua destra l'umile sua serva;
l'Onnipotente che fa grandi cose per la nostra salvezza,
magnifica la santità del suo nome,
liberando Maria dalla corruzione del sepolcro.

Il Signore ha salvato Maria dal peccato sin dalla sua concezione,
ricomandandola di ogni dono di grazia
sgorciata dalla morte di Cristo sulla croce;
Egli l'ha innalzata in anima e corpo alla Gerusalemme del cielo, dove
risplende Regina accanto al Re della gloria.

Un segno grandioso apparso nel cielo:
Maria è ammantata della luce di Cristo, sole di giustizia;
e le dodici tribù della casa di Israele, riunite attorno a Lei,
la invocano "Madre" perché tutte in lei sono nate.

Godono gli angeli si rallegrano gli arcangeli per l'esaltazione di Maria, i santi proclamano beata Colui che ha creduto;
e noi, che in questa valle di lacrime
camminiamo con sicura speranza verso il pino glorioso del Signore,
cantiamo la vittoria del Cristo risorto, che si manifesta in Maria.

Rendiamo grazie al Padre, donatore della vita, per Gesù Cristo nato da Maria, Madre dei viventi, nello Spirito Santo che dimora nei nostri cuori per i secoli dei secoli.

Signore, pietà
Cristo, pietà
Signore, pietà

Signore, pietà
Cristo, pietà
Signore, pietà

Dio Padre, nostro creatore,
Dio Figlio nostro Salvatore,
Dio Spirito, nostro Santificatore,
Santa Trinità, unico Dio e Signore.

Abbi pietà di noi
Abbi pietà di noi
Abbi pietà di noi
Abbi pietà di noi

Santa Maria,
Santa Madre di Dio
Santa Vergine delle vergini,
Santi Michele, Gabriele e Raffaele,
Santi Angeli di Dio
Sanť Elia,
San Giovanni Battista,
San Giuseppe,
Santi patriarchi e profeti,
Santi Pietro e Paolo,
Sanť Andrea,
Santi Giovanni e Giacomo,
San Tommaso
Santi Filippo e Giacomo,
San Bartolomeo,
San Matteo,
Santi Simone e Giuda,
San Mattia,
San Luca,
San Marco,
Santa Maria Maddalena,
Santi discepoli del Signore,
Santo Stefano,
San Lorenzo,
San Generoso,
Santa Sinforosa e figli,
San Getulio,
Santi Mario, Marta e figli,
San Quirino,
Santi martiri Tiburtini
Santi Basilio e Gregorio,
San Martino,
San Patrizio,
San Silvestro,
San Simplicio,
Santi Cirillo e Metodio
San Carlo Borromeo,

[illegible]

San Francesco di Sale;
San Pio X
Sant' Antonio,
San Benedetto,
San Severino,
San Francesco
San Domenico
San Tommaso D' Aquino
Sant' Ignazio di Loyola
San Francesco Saverio
San Cleto
San Vincenzo de' Paoli
San Giovanni Maria Vianney
San Giovanni Bosco
Santa Caterina da Siena
Santa Teresa d' Avila
Santa Rosa da Viterbo
San Pietro Trebano
San Luigi Gonzaga
Santa Monica
Santa Agostina Pietrantoni
Santi e Sante di Dio

[illegible]

Quando la processione entra nella piazza, si intona:

CANTO: TU SEI LA MIA VITA.

Tu sei la mia vita, altro io non ho.

Tu sei la mia strada, la mia verità.

Nella Tua Parola io camminerò

. finché avrò respiro, fino a quando Tu vorrai.

Non avrò paura sai, se Tu sei con me:

io Ti prego, resta con me.

Credo in Te, S

Credo in Te, Signore, nato da Maria:

Figlio eterno e santo, uomo come noi.

Morto per amore, vivo in mezzo a noi:

una cosa sola con il Padre e con i tuoi,

fino a quando io lo so... tu ritornerai

per aprirci il Regno di Dio.

Tu sei la mia forza, altro io non ho.
 Tu sei la mia pace, la mia libertà.
 Niente nella vita ci separerà:
 so che la Tua mano forte non mi lascerà.
 So che da ogni male Tu mi libererai
 e nel Tuo perdono vivrò.

Padre della vita, noi crediamo in Te.
 Figlio Salvatore, noi speriamo in Te.
 Spirito d'Amore, vieni in mezzo a noi.
 tu da mille strade ci raduni in unità
 E per mille strade, poi, dove Tu vorrai,
 noi saremo il seme di Dio.

Mentre entra in piazza l'immagine della Madonna, si intona:

MIRA IL TUO POPOLO

Mira il tuo popolo, o bella Signora, che pien di giubilo oggi ti onora.
 Anch'io festevole coro ai tuoi pie:

O Santa Vergine - prega per me! (2 volte)

Il pietosissimo tuo dolce cuore è rifugio al peccatore.

Tesori e grazie - racchiude in sé:

O Santa Vergine - prega per me! (2 volte)

In questa misera alle infelice tutti t'invocano: Soccorritrice:
 questo bel titolo conviene a te:

O Santa Vergine - prega per me! (2 volte)

Viene proclamato uno dei seguenti brani:

Dal Vangelo secondo Luca 11,27-28

In quel tempo, mentre Gesù stava parlando, una donna dalla folla alzò la voce e gli disse: "Beato il grembo che ti ha portato e il seno che ti ha allattato!". Ma egli disse: "Beati piuttosto coloro che ascoltano la Parola di Dio e la osservano!".

Oppure:

di Maria, tre sono le grazie che Maria chiede al suo Figlio al momento di lasciare questa mondo: anzitutto che gli Apostoli tutti siano riuniti intorno a Lei, poi che Lei possa continuare a seguirli come quando era su questa terra, e infine che Gesù stesso la prenda tra le sue mani e la difenda da ogni pericolo nel passaggio dalla terra al Cielo (come è descritto dall'iconografia del pannello laterale).

L'immagine della Madre si inchina per salutare il Figlio e il Figlio si inchina dinanzi alla Madre scelta dalla Trinità beata: "Ha guardato l'umiltà della sua serva".

FUOCHI

La notte è illuminata per indicare che il Cristo risorto ha vinto la morte in Maria, prima Discepola del Signore

Mentre la processione entra in chiesa si canta :

ANDRO' A VEDERLA UN DI'

Andrò a vederla un dì in cielo, patria mia;
 andrò a veder Maria, mia gioia e mio amor.

Al ciel, al ciel, al cielandrò a vederla un dì. (2v.)

Andrò a vederla un dì, è il grido di speranza,
 che infondemi costanza, nel viaggio e tra il doler.

Andrò a vederla un dì, lasciando questo esilio:
 le poserò qual figlio, il capo sopra il coro

Andrò a vederla un dì, leandrò vicino al trono
 ad ottenere in dono un serto di splendor.

Dal Vangelo secondo Giovanni 17,24-26

In quel tempo Gesù disse ai suoi apostoli: "Padre, voglio che quelli che mi hai dato siano anche con me dove sono io, perché contemplino la mia gloria, quella che tu mi hai dato; poiché mi hai amato prima della creazione del mondo. Padre giusto, il mondo non ti ha conosciuto, ma io ti ho conosciuto, e questo hanno conosciuto che tu mi hai mandato e io ho fatto conoscere loro il tuo nome e lo farò conoscere, perché l'amore con il quale mi hai amato sia in essi e io in loro".

Omelia del Vescovo

Letture:

"Si sepnta per la processione alla volta della chiesa di S. Francesco o vero la Chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore, chiesa retta dalli frati zoccolanti ove si suole posare il Salvatore: arrivato poi in la piazza di detta chiesa la immagine della gloriosa Madre Vergine Maria si ritrova essere portata dalli falegnami, artigiani e muratori... allo rincontro del Santissimo Salvatore per riceverlo in la sua Santa Chiesa; si inchinano la gloriosa Madre Maria al figliolo et SS.mo Salvatore, fa riverenza alla sua gloriosa Madre, ma in quel atto si sentono le voci della populi gridare ad alta voce: misericordia, misericordia di tal sorte gran trepito di voci che da gran devozione et la gran moltitudine de genti di l'uno et dell'altro sesso piangono veramente con gran devozione, atto de raffatto caso de gran devozione, gli dico che se fusca un core de Nettone piagnerebbe a vedere et sentire un mistero tale".

(da un antico testo del sec. XVI di Giovanni Maria Zappi)

Mentre avviene l'inno, tutti: MISERICORDIA, MISERICORDIA!

INCHINATA

Giunti nella piazza antistante la Chiesa di S. Maria Maggiore avviene l'incontro con l'immagine della S. Madre di Dio, per rievocare il momento della morte di Maria, cioè dell'incontro splendente di luce tra il Cristo Crocifisso e Risorto e la sua Santissima Madre, che prima tra tutte le creature umane è prima discepola del Signore, condivide con Lui, anima e corpo la sofferenza della Croce e la gloria della Risurrezione, segno di certa speranza per tutto il Popolo di Dio. Secondo i Vangeli apostolici che narrano il momento della " Dormitio "

DOMANI 15 AGOSTO
SOLENNITA' DELL' ASSUNZIONE DI MARIA
ORE 10.30 S. MESSA EPISCOPALE
PRESSO LA CHIESA DI S. MARIA MAGGIORE
E INCHINATA A P.zza TRENTO

APPENDIX G

DESCRIPTION OF THE TIBURTINE SYBIL'S PROPHECY OF CHRIST TO EMPEROR AUGUSTUS IN THE *MIRABILIA ROMAE*

Tempore Octaviani imperatoris, senatores videntes eum tantae pulchritudinis, quod nemo in oculos eius intueri posset, et tantae prosperitatis et pacis, quod totum mundum sibi tributarium fecerat, ei dicunt: Te adorare volumus, quia divinitas est in te. Si hoc non esset non tibi omnia subirent prospera. -Quod renitens indutias postulavit; ad se Sibillam tiburtinam vocavit, cui quod senatores dixerant recitavit. Quae spatium trium dierum petit, in quibus artum ieiunium operata est. Post tertium diem respondit imperatori; -hoc pro certo erit, domine imperator: Iudicii signum, tellus sudore madescet e celo rex adveniet per secla futura scilicet in carne praesens, ut iudicet orbem- et cetera que secuntur. Ilico apertum est celum et maximus splendor irruit super eum. Vidit in celo quandam pulcerrimam virginem stantem super altare, puerum tenentem in brachiis, miratus est mimis et vocem dicentem audivit: -hec ara filii Dei est-; qui statim in terram procidens adoravit. Quam visionem retulit senatoribus et ipsi mirati sunt mimis. Haec visio fuit in camera Octaviani imperatoris, ubi nunc est ecclesia sanctae Mariae in Capitolio: idcirco dicta est ecclesia sanctae Mariae ara celi (Carolus Ludovicus Urlichs, ed., Codex urbis Romae topographicus [Wirceburgi: aedibus Stahelianis, 1871], 95-96).

APPENDIX H

1286 INDULGENCE CONCEDED BY 11 BISHOPS TO THE FAITHFUL WHO VISITED THE CHURCH OF S. VINCENZO IN TIVOLI

Universis S. Matris Ecclesiae Filiis, ad quos praesentes litterae pervenerint. Nos Dei grazia Petrus Constantinopolitanus, Frater Guido Patriarcha Graden. Henricus Euden. Thomas Arceparen. Eplicardus Vincentinus, Petronius Larmen. Petrus Hiberger. Leo Calamonen. Franciscus Terracinen. Egidius Tuetibueen. Sinibaldus Imolen. Episcopi salutem, & sinceram in Deo charitatem, licet is de cuius munere venit, & sibi a suis fidelibus digne, ac laudabiliter serviatur; de abundantia pietatis suae merita supplicum exhibeantur, & vota bene servientibus multo maiora tribuat, quam valeant promereri; Desiderantes tamen reddere Domino populum acceptabilem fideles Christi ad complacendum ei quasi quibusdam allectativis [sic] muneribus. Indulgentiis videlicet, ac Remissionibus invitamus, ut exinde reddantur Divinae gratiae aptiores. Cupientes igitur, ut Ecclesia S. Vincentii visitantibus congruis honoribus frequentetur, & a cunctis Christi fidelibus jugiter veneretur, omnibus vere poenitentibus confessis, qui ad praefatam Ecclesiam causa devotionis accesserint, & eam pia mente in festis subscriptis, videlicet Nativitatis Domini, Resurrectionis, Ascensionis, Pentecostes, & singulis festis B. Mariae Virginis, ac in festis S. Symphorosae Martyris, Chrysanthi, & Dariae Martyrum, Parasceves, ac Dedicationis Ecclesiae mentionate, altari nempe in ea constructorum, & per octavas festorum, omniumque praedictorum visitaverint, & de Bonis a Deo sibi collatis aliquid fabricae dictae Ecclesiae, seu ad sustentationem luminarium in ea existentium, vel in extremis laborantes levaverint. Nos Dei Omnipotentis misericordia, Beatissimaeque Virginis Mariae, nec non & Beatissimorum Apostolorum Petri, & Pauli, eius Auctoritate confisi, dummodo loci dioecesanus hanc nostram Indulgentiam ratam habuerit, singuli singulas dierum quadragenas de inunctis eis poenitentiis misericorditer in Domino relaxamus. In cuius rei testimonium presentem Cedula[m] Sigillorum nostrum munimine fecimus roborari. Dat. Tibure anno Domini 1286. Pontif. DD. Honorii Papae IV. Ann. II (as recorded by Giovanni Crocchianti in Istoria delle chiese della città di Tivoli [Rome: Girolamo Mainardi, 1726], 155-157).

APPENDIX I

1289 INDULGENCE CONCEDED BY NICHOLAS IV TO STA. MARIA MAGGIORE, TIVOLI

*Universis Christi fidelibus praesentes litteras inspecturis salutem, & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Licet is, de cuius munere venit, ut sibi a fidelibus suis digne, ac laudabiliter serviatur, ex abundantia pietatis suae, quae merita supplicum excedit & vota, bene servientibus multò [sic] maiora retribuat, quam valeant promereri: nihilominus tamen desiderantes Domino reddere populum acceptabilem fideles Christi ad complacendum ei, quasi in quibusdam illectivis [sic] muneribus, indulgentiis scilicet, & remissionibus invitamus, ut exinde Divinae reddantur gratiae aptiores. Cupientes igitur, ut Ecclesia dilectorum filiorum Fratrum Ordinis Minorum de Tibure. congruis honoribus frequentetur, omnibus vere poenitentibus & confessis, qui Ecclesiam ipsam in Navitatis, Anuntiationis, Purificationis, & Assumptionis B. Mariae Virginis & Sanctorum Francisci, & Assumptionis B. Mariae Virginis & Sanctaeque Francisci & Antonii, Sanctaeque Clarae festivitatibus, & per octo dies immediate sequentes devote visitaverint, annuatim de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia, & Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate consisi, unum annum, & quadraginta dies de injuncta sibi poenitentia misericorditer relaxamus. Datum Romae apud S. Mariam Majorem IV. Kalendas Aprilis, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Secundo (BAV, Reges. Vatic. Pontif. epist. 106. anno 2. See also *Bullarium Franciscanum* IV, 68).*

APPENDIX J

1392 INDULGENCE CONCEDED BY BONIFACE IX TO S. MARIA MAGGIORE, TIVOLI

*Universis Christi fidelibus praesentes literas inspecturis: salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem. Gloriosus Deus in sanctis suis, et ipsorum glorificatione congaudens, in veneratione beatae Mariae semper Virginis eo iucundius delectatur, quo ipsa, utpote mater eius effecta, meruit altius sanctis ceteris in caelestibus collocari. Cupientes igitur, ut altare maius ecclesiae conventus b. Mariae maioris Tiburtin., ordinis fratrum minorum, congruis honoribus frequentetur, et ut ipsi fideles eo libentius causa devotionis ad ipsam confluant, quo ibidem ex hoc dono coelestis gratiae uberius conspexerint se refectos, de omnipotentis Dei, et bb. Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus vere poenitentibus et confessis, qui in festivitate nativitatis ipsius b. Mariae, et per eiusdem festivitatis octavam, altare praedictum devote visitaverint, annuatim pro singulis festivitatis, et octavarum praedictarum diebus, quibus ipsum altare visitaverint, ut praefertur, illam indulgentiam, et remissionem peccatorum concedimus, quam ecclesiam b. Mariae de Angelis de Assisio [sic] prima die augusti visitantes quomodolibet consequuntur. Volumus autem, quod si alias aliqua alia indulgentia, visitantibus praedictum altare perpetuo, vel ad certum tempus nondum elapsum duratura, per nos concessa fuerit, praesentes literae nullius existant roboris, vel momenti. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, VI. Cal. Octobris pontificatus nostri anno III (as recorded by Casimiro da Roma in *Memorie istoriche delle chiese e dei conventi dei frati minori della provincia romana*, 2nd edition [Rome: Rev. Cam. Apost., 1845], 475).*

APPENDIX K

1417 INSCRIPTION ON THE FAÇADE OF STA. MARIA MAGGIORE, TIVOLI

In nomine. Domini. Amen. Anno domini M. CCC. XCII. Tempore domini Bonifatii PP. IX dominus card. De Alenconio ex revelatione facta per B. Ludovycum cuidam sancte domne Tyburtine ex parte Beate Virginis procuravit a. dno. plenariam remissionem peccatorum omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis visitantibus altare maius ecclesie S. Marie Maioris de Tybure ordinis fratrum minorum in die nativitatis bte. Virginis et per octavas temporibus perpetuis valituram tempore capomilitatus Nicolai Brunelli. Hoc opus fecit Magister Angelus de Tybure tempore guard. fratris Francisci de Via Maiori.

APPENDIX L

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY LEGACIES ESTABLISHED FOR, AND TOMBS, ALTARS, AND CHAPELS FOUNDED IN STA. MARIA MAGGIORE, TIVOLI

In 1369 *Iannutius Iohannis domini Mathei de Tibure* left “*ecclesie Sancte Marie Maioris...apud quam suam elegit sepulturam, pro subsidio cappelle in qua iacet corpus Iohannis patris sui X libras*” (to the church of S. Maria Maggiore, where he established his tomb, he left ten pounds for the maintenance of the chapel where his father *Iohannis* was buried) (Rome, Archivio Colonna, *pergamene*, cass. LIV, n. 36, 11/3/1369).

In 1398 *Angeli Pauli de Tybure* donated some lands to “*frater Georgius Blasii Gabrielis guardianus ecclesie S. Marie Maioris,*” who in exchange promised to erect an altar where he would celebrate masses (Tivoli, ACT, S. Maria Maggiore, 12/11/1398).

See also the wills of *Nardus Butii Iacobi Oddonis* (C. Carbonetti Vendittelli, “Il fondo pergameneo del convento domenicano di Tivoli conservato nell’Archivio Generale dell’Ordine,” *AFP* 54, 1984: 180-81), of *Benedictus Petri* (ACM, ms. 5.5.1, G. Ansaloni, *Tiburtina Medii Aevi monumenta*, 2/2/1321, f. 24); Lorenza, widow of Giacomo Carozii (ACM, ms. 5.5.1, G. Ansaloni, *Tuburtina Medii Aevi monumenta*, 12/4/1321, f. 127).

Cecco Maligno’s funerary plaque can be seen today on the back wall of the church with the inscription, “*Hic iacet corpus Cecci Maligni qui obiit anno domini MCCCCL die...mensis iulii cuius anima requiescat in pace amen.*”

APPENDIX M

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY LEGACIES ESTABLISHED FOR, AND TOMBS, ALTARS, AND CHAPELS FOUNDED IN STA. MARIA MAGGIORE, TIVOLI

In 1400 Tiburtine nobleman *Iannutius Antonii Iannutii* left a legacy to the chapel of St Francis in which his relatives were buried and which he had designated as his final resting place (ACT, S. Maria Maggiore, 5/7/1400).

In 1477 *nobilis vir Clemens de Brigante de Columna de Tibure*, also in the name of his grandchildren, conceded to *Franciscus* and *Aloisius Thomasii olim de Saracinisco* all his rights pertaining to the chapel of St Bernardini, located next to the chapel owned by him, dedicated to St Michael Archangel and St Francis, with the promise that *Aloisius* will donate after his death 25 ducati for the use of this chapel and church of S. Maria Maggiore (ACT, Archivio notarile, reg., 8, 27/1/1477, f. 51r-v).

Petrutii Brigantis de Tybure requested to be buried in the “cappella delli Angeli” (ACT Archivio notarile, 13/4/1443).

Gregorio di Cecco Maligni arranged for his tomb “*in cappella ad altare Sancti Iacobi*” (ACT, Archivio notarile, reg. 9, 6/6/1494, ff. 136v-138r).

APPENDIX N

1235 INDULGENCE CONCEDED BY POPE GREGORY IX TO THE FAITHFUL OF PERUGIA WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE ASSUMPTION PROCESSION FROM THE CATHEDRAL OF THE CHURCH OF STA. MARIA IN MONTELUCE

Si quibuslibet piis locis honor est ob Sanctorum memoriam impendendus, illis profecto debet major honorificentia, & cultus celebrior exhiberi, quae in honore Beatae Virginis Domini nostri Matris pia sunt devotione Fidelium dedicata, cum impensam Matri reverentiam sibi reputet Filius exhiberi; & ipsa in mulieribus benedicta, Mater pulchrae dilectionis, & timoris, & sanctae spei jugiter interpellat pro miseris; pro afflictis supplicet, & pro peccatoribus intercedat. Cum igitur dudum inspiratione Divina praevia fuerit ordinatum, ut in vigilia Assumptionis eiusdem Monasterium vestrum annis singulis a Clericis, & Laicis processionaliter visitetur; & dilecti filii Mercatores, & Ministri artium Perusini inter ceteros accedant illis venerabiliter, & devote': Nos volentes ea, quae ad ampliandum cultum Divini Nominis ab aliquibus laudabiliter ordinantur, inviolabiliter observari; & ne a quoquam, temere' violetur; favoris nostri praesidio communiri ordinationem ipsam pia providentia, & provida pietate factam auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus, & praesentis Scripti patrocinio communimus. Ut autem huiusmodi ordinatio devotius observetur, & observantes reddantur Divinae gratiae aptiores, ac alii ad devotionem ipsius Monasterii accendantur, & dictum Monasterium congruis honoribus frequentetur; omnibus vere' poenitentibus, & confessis, qui ipsum in eadem vigilia processionaliter devotione congrua visitaverint, de omnipotentis Dei misericordia, & Beatorum Petri, & Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi annum unum de injuncta sibi poenitentia misericorditer relaxamus (Bullarium Franciscanum I, 177).

APPENDIX O

CHARTER OF BISHOP BOSONE OF TIVOLI IN WHICH HE GRANTS PART OF HIS HOUSE IN ROME TO THE LATERAN ACHEROPITA

*Anno 1029—XIX—in nomine d.mi. Anno sextum domini nostri Iohanni nono decimi Pape adque Chonradi Imperatoris anno tertio, indictione tertiadecima, mense martii, die decima. Ego quidem Boso Episcopus Tiburtinus, hac die, nullo perhibente aut vim faciente haud suadente, sed propria spontaneaue mea voluntate pro salute anime mee et parentum meorum dono, do concedo adque offero Sanctissimo Salvatori, bidelicet [sic] eius venerabili Imagini, quam precibus beate Virginis et B. B. Apostolorum S. Lucas cepisse habetur et birtutem [sic] Domini perfecisse adque civitati Romae miraculose pervenisse, in Basilica [sic] S. Laurentii de Palatio Laterani servata, medietatem integram de domo solarata, quam modo tenet Nuccius Cole Capo de ferro et Iohannes Iacobelli Surdi positam iuxta Basilicam Salvatoris inter hos affines... (Giuseppe Maria Soresino, *De Imagine SS.mi Salvatoris ad Sancta Sanctorum Romae* [Rome: Lazzarum Varesium , 1675], 53-56).*

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